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THE EGYPTIAN CULTS IN ATHENS *

STERLING DOW
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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he author has had generous assistance from the three scholars whose published have been most useful in this study: Professors W. S. Ferguson (Hellenistic s, London, 1911), A. D. Nock (Conversion: the Old and the New in Religion Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo, Oxford, 1933), and T. A. Brady, nheim Fellow in 1936-7 (The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks 30 B.C.], Univ. of Missouri Studies, Vol. X, No. 1, Columbia, Missouri, 1935). ssor Brady has also sent squeezes, drawings, and photographs from Athens and on.

e evidence on Sarapis and Isis in Athens has not been studied item by item since issertation by A. Rusch (De Serapide et Iside in Graecia cultis, Berlin, 1906, 2– The admirable publication of the Delian material by P. Roussel appeared in 1916 cultes égyptiens à Délos, Nancy).

e summary of the present study (p. 227) can be read independently of the rest. e who are interested more in methods than in Sarapis can note the use of a principle n I think has not been properly grasped before, that of precedence in lists (pp. ., 201, 206, 210, 212).

I. The Arrival of Isis

Ammon was made known to old Greece by the Greeks of Cy
Kimon visited the oracle at Siwa, Pindar wrote a hymn to
mon, and the Athenians made his cult public at some
termined date earlier than 371/0 B.C.[1] Like Sarapis, Am
seems never to have been extremely popular;[2] Isis ou
them both. Nevertheless Ammon arrived long before
others: the preserved records happen to show that he wa
ceiving sacrifices from the Athenian generals themselves
year (333/2) when the cult of Isis, which we learn about
for the first time, was still a cult of immigrants. Why Am
alone of all Egyptian gods, should have succeeded thus
is no mystery: he had an oracle, and he had Greek in
mediaries.[3]

It is generally assumed, merely because they all came
the same country, that Ammon prepared the way for
Egyptian gods. The evidence may be collected under
heads. (1) Dedications to Ammon in the Sarapieia in D
there are only two, and they prove little.[4] (2) Personal na
Σαραπίων and Ἀμμώνιος, alternating in successive generation
an Athenian family:[5] these show a real connection bet
Sarapis and Ammon, but the period is ca. 250–ca. 88 B.C.,

[1] On Ammon in Greece, cf. Ed. Meyer's article s.v. in Roscher's Lexikon
Athens, cf. Sandys' commentary on Aristotle, Ath. Pol., ch. 61, lines 27–28 (ed.
245). The date 371/0 is from the new edition of an inventory by the treasure
Athena, IG, II², 1428 (Add., 808), lines 73–74: [φι]άλη ἀργυρᾶ Ἄμμωνος, κτλ., v
has enabled Ferguson (Treasurers of Athena, 180) to restore the phrase in IG
1421; also in 1415, which is dated 'post a. 385/4.' — Cf. also A. B. Cook, Ze
351, and A. Dain, Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Bardo (Limoges, 1936).

[2] No dedication to Ammon has been found in Athens. There are some theop
names, infra, p. 221.

[3] Among contributing causes may be placed the fact that he was easily, or at
he became thoroughly, hellenized. Native Egyptians in the second century B.C. c
regard Ammon as a Greek god (Nock, HTR, 29, 1936, 71, n. 95).

[4] Roussel, Cultes égyptiens à Délos, 105, no. 37 of ante–166 B.C., found in Sarapi
B, a dedication by a non-Athenian (a Delian?) woman; and p. 176, no. 171 of 116
or 88–81 B.C., a dedication by an Athenian citizen with a Roman name, Μᾶρκος Ἐ
σίνιος, on behalf of a Ptolemy. Numerous deities found hospitality in the Egyp
shrines (op. cit., 279). — Note the altar dedicated by Greeks in Egypt to Isis
Ammon (Roussel, Cultes égyptiens à Délos, 278 n. 4).

[5] Infra, pp. 222 and 228. Note also Ammonios, son of a ζάκορος of Sarapis, p.

ıe in these families is named for Isis. (3) Theoriai sailed
arly from Piraeus on the sacred trireme Ammonias to con-
he oracle at Siwa.[6] It is highly probable that Ammon was
ılted regarding the introduction of Isis. This was pre-
the kind of question which, after the Persian Wars more
ever, was considered to be especially within the compe-
of an oracle; indeed we know that the oracle at Dodona
consulted in the fifth century B.C. regarding the introduc-
into Athens of Bendis.[7]

this as it may, certain Egyptians in Attica, otherwise un-
n to us, received from the Demos a plot of land and per-
on to establish there a hieron of Isis. This we learn from
II², 337, which records a vote by the Demos *δοῦναι τοῖς*
οις τῶν Κιτιέων ἔνκτησιν χωρίου ἐν ὧι ἱδρύσονται τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς
δίτης καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱερὸν ἵδρυνται.
place was quite possibly Piraeus, where the decree IG, II²,
tself was found: the Syrian Aphrodite was certainly wor-
ed there, and the Egyptians, if they were traders, are
y to have settled in Piraeus. The date of IG, II², 337 is
2, and it gives no definite indication as to when the legalized
hip of Isis began; it tells us merely that the Egyptian
edent was recent enough to be recalled.

ıe mover of the above-quoted decree was *Λυκοῦργος Λυκό-*
ος Βουτάδης, the famous statesman (PA, 9251), whose
nguished grandfather *Λυκοῦργος Λυκομήδους Βουτάδης* (PA,
) was laughed at by Aristophanes and other comic poets for
Egyptian leanings.[8] The theory seems plausible that the
dson, who is known to have been active in word and deed
respect to cults, inherited an interest in things Egyptian.[9]
re is no other evidence to support a further theory, namely
the grandfather himself was instrumental in securing the
t for the first shrine of Isis on Attic soil.

andys, loc. cit.
G, II², 1263; Plato, Rep., 1, 1 (p. 327).
ves, 1296, *Ἶβις Λυκούργῳ* (J. van Leeuwen in his commentary ad loc. doubts
er the phrase proves any strong Egyptian connection); Kratinos, frg. 30, Kock,
Pherekr., frg. 11, Kock, I, 148.
J. Koehler, Hermes, 5, 1871, 352. He may also have wished to strengthen
s by encouraging foreign merchants (Tarn, CAH, VI, 443).

II. Athenians and the New Cult

Ptolemy called upon an Egyptian and a Greek jointly t
sign the ritual, including mysteries for Isis,[10] for the new
The Egyptian was Manetho, known to us as an historia
Egypt who wrote in Greek for Greeks.[11] The Greek, Timot
of Athens, was a ritualist by birth, since the noble clan to w
he belonged, that of the Eumolpidai, superintended the
teries at Eleusis.[12] Timotheos was also a student of fo
worships; he wrote a book on the legend of Magna Ma
Paeans were composed for Sarapis by another Athenian,
brilliant and colorful ex-'tyrant' of Athens, Demetrios of P
ron, who was a friend of the great Peripatetics and hims
distinguished product of that School.[14] Since Ptolemy was s
ing the best Greek talent available, he would naturally
called upon the most famous sculptor of the age to design
build the cult statue; but there is dispute as to whether
Bryaxis who did it was the well-known Athenian, or a
famous younger Bryaxis.[15]

Thus at least two Athenians of distinction took part in fou
ing the cult, which therefore from the very beginning was kn
to some of the highest circles in Athens.[16] A friend of Demet
of Phaleron, the famous comic poet Menander, wrote 'Sarap
a great god.'[17] The road to Athens, one might argue, was e

It may be suggested, however, that the creator of a god is
sure to worship his creation.[18] If Ptolemy and his exp
worked with an eye to Egyptian fellaheen and Greek im
grants, the Athenian intellectuals may have looked on w

[10] Roussel, Cultes, 199–200; Cumont, Rel. Or., 91; Nock, Conversion, 38 ff., 14
278.

[11] CIL, VIII, 1007; Pap. Hibeh, 72, 6; Realencyc., 27, 1061 ff.; 2 Reihe, 2, 2

[12] Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 28; Tacitus, Hist., IV, 83; Gruppe, Gr. Myth.
1574.

[13] Arnobius, V, 5.

[14] Diog. Laert. V, p. 5, § 76 (from Didymus). Cf. IG, XIV, 1034.

[15] Favoring the latter: A. W. Lawrence, Later Greek Sculpture, 107; Classi
Sculpture, 265, 276, 289.

[16] Concerning the Peripatetic Ἀριστοκλῆς (Suidas, s.v.) and his (lost) work π
Σαράπιδος nothing is known, not even whether he had studied in Athens.

[17] P. Oxy., 1803; O. Weinreich, Aegyptus, 11, 1931, 13 ff.

[18] The word 'creation' is convenient rather than accurate.

ement rather than with awe and reverence. As for Menan- his words merely indicate that Sarapis was known, and it was possible for a character in a play to call him great.

III. Pausanias on the Sarapieion

usanias I, 18, 4: 'Going thence [from the Prytaneion] we to a sanctuary (*ἱερόν*) of Sarapis, a god whom the Athe- received from Ptolemy (*ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν γοντο*).'

e only preserved statement about the Athenian reception rapis still needs careful study.[19] Examination of the pas- in Pausanias which mention any Ptolemy shows that: ausanias knows but one epithet (Philometor) of a Ptolemy. 'ausanias reveals scanty knowledge of any Ptolemy after my II. (3) Pausanias is capable of referring to any my as plain 'Ptolemy.' The context sometimes makes to us which one is meant (I, 5, 5 through I, 7, 3 — the im- nt passage —; I, 36, 5; II, 8, 5), sometimes not (I, 17, olemy III; VI, 16, 9: Ptolemy I?). (4) When he is aided inscription, Pausanias can specify the male parentage of lemy (VI, 17, 3; cf. 15, 10); but he never does so for Ptolemy after Ptolemy II. (5) Unless the manuscripts error, Pausanias made a mistake in his opening passage 1) which he could have corrected (I, 7, 3). (6) His his- l knowledge is definitely at fault in one clear instance: mes Ptolemy II as eponymos of the tribe Ptolemais, and biographical details (I, 5, 5–I, 7, 3), whereas Ptolemais stablished ca. 224/3 B.C. in the reign of Ptolemy III. As ds the passage about Sarapis, therefore, it is clear that the nce to plain 'Ptolemy' need not denote Soter; nor would reliable if its denotation were exact, seeing that once (6) Pausanias did make clear which Ptolemy he was speaking

usch dismissed it (p. 4); Cumont accepted it as corroboration of what looked like positive evidence, contained in Rusch's book, that Athens received Sarapis the third century (pp. 74, 234, n. 16). Wilcken in turn, misled by Cumont, red that Pausanias I, 18, 4 makes the creation of Sarapis, and his introduction ns, by Ptolemy I not unlikely (UPZ, I, 83).

of, he was speaking of the wrong Ptolemy. The passage a
Sarapis cannot be used for chronology, even as corroborati
a view based on other data.

The passage does not say that Sarapis was received
Egypt, but from *Ptolemy*: it might be argued that this sup
the theory of an 'imperialistic religion.' In view of wha
been said above regarding Pausanias, those who hold su
notion are clutching at a straw.

The only value of the passage as a whole is quite diffe
For Pausanias did not mention every sanctuary in Ath
that of Sarapis was at least noteworthy. Yet he has not
whatever to say about the sanctuary itself, he merely st
its existence: the reasonable inference is that the temple
not impressively decorated or unusually large. It was rem
able to Pausanias only for its Egyptian connection.

IV. The Society of Sarapiastai

IG, II², 1292

Not *stoichedon*

215/4 B.C. Average line ca. 35 le

['Επὶ Διοκλέους ἄρχοντος - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- ca. 10¾ (month?) -]ος Ε Ρ Α Ε Ε . Ε Ε Φ Α Λ Ε [- ca. 3 - εἶπεν]
[ἐπε]ιδὴ ὁ ταμίας τῶν Σαραπιαστῶν [Ζώπυρος]
[καὶ] ὁ γραμματεὺς Θεοφάνης καὶ ὁ ἐ[πιμελητ]ὴ[ς]
5 [τὴ]ς 'Ολύμπιχος [ἀ]νεγκλήτους ἑαυτοὺ[ς παρε]
[σκε]υάκασιν πλεονάκις μὲν καὶ πρόσθε[ν γενό]
[μενοι] ἐν ταῖς [ἐπ]ιμελείαις [τα]ὐ[ταις ἀγα[θοὶ ? εὐ]
[θύνα]ς δεδώκα[σιν] περὶ [πάντ]ων κα[τὰ] τὸν [νόμον]
[κατασ]ταθέντες δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ 'Αγνίου ἄρχον[τος κα]
10 [λῶς κα]ὶ δικαίως ἐξ[ῆχ]α[ν τὸν] ἐνιαυτὸν [ἀ[γαθεῖ]
[τύχει] δεδόχθαι τοῖς [Σαρα]πιασταῖς [ἐ[παινέ]
[σαι] αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφ[ανῶσ]αι θαλλοῦ σ[τεφάνωι]
[σὺν τ]αινιδίωι ὅταν πρῶτον θύωσιν ο[ἱ Σαραπι]
[αστ]αὶ καὶ ἀναγορεύειν [α]ὐτῶν τὰ ὀν[όματα]
15 [τ]οὺς ἱεροποιοὺς ἀεὶ κα[θ'] ἑκάστην θ[υσίαν με]
[τ]ὰ τὰ ἱερά· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύσωσ[ιν ἢ μὴ στε]

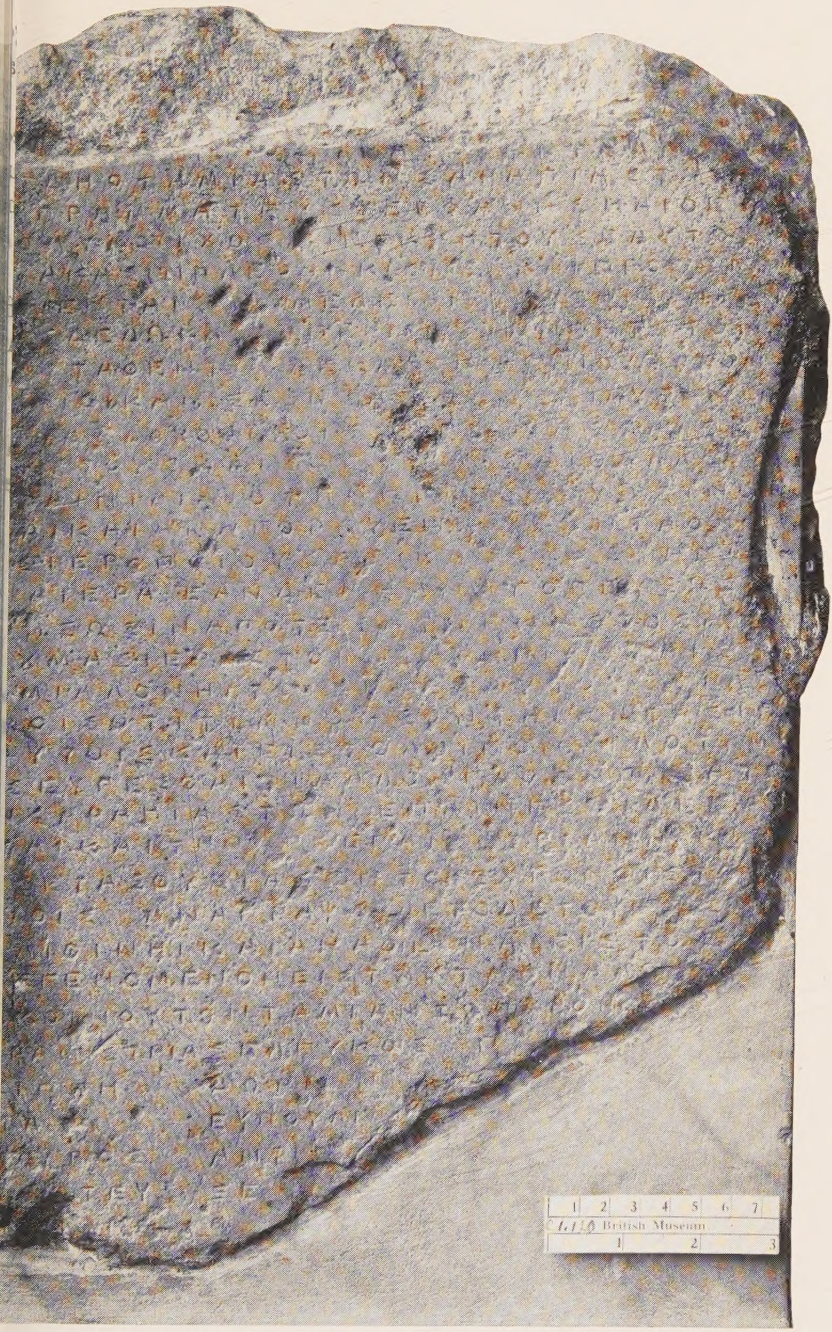

FIGURE 1. *IG*, II², 1292

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]νώσωσιν, ἀποτεισάτω ἕκαστος αὐ[τῶν $\frac{3}{-}$ or $\frac{4}{-}$]
χμὰς ἱερὰς τοῖς Σαραπιασταῖς, [ὅπως ἂν]
ιμιλλον ἦι τοῖς εἰς [ἑ]αυτοὺς φιλο[τιμου]
ένοις ⟨εἰδόσιν⟩ ὅτι τιμηθήσονται καταξίω[ς· εἶναι]
αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν φιλοτιμ[ουμέ^{vv}]
; εὑρέσθαι τι ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν π[αρ]ὰ το[ῦ κοινοῦ]
Σαραπιαστῶν ^{v} ἐπαινέσαι δὲ κα[ὶ στεφα]
ται καὶ τὴν [π]ροεραν[ίσ]τριαν Ν[ι]κίπ[πην ὅτι]
λυσε τὰς θυσίας ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις το[ῖς τεταγ]
οις ^{vv} ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή[φι]σ[μα ἐν στή]
λιθίνηι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ [Σαραπιεῖον?],
] δὲ γενόμενον εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάλω[μα μερίσαι ἐκ]
οῦ κοινοῦ τὸν ταμίαν Ζώπυρον [v a c a t]

ο]εράνιστρια		Σέλευκος	Πυ[- - - -]	[- - - - - -]
Ν[ι]κίππη		Δωρίων	[- - - - - -]	[- - - - - -]
ίας	40	Εὐβουλίδ[ης]	[- - - - - -]	[- - - - - -]
ώπυρος		Ἀντ[- - -]	[- - - - - -]	[- - - - - -]
ραμ[μα]τεὺς		Ξε[- - - -]	[- - - - - -]	[- - - - - -]
Θεοφάν]ης		Θ[- - - - -]	[- - - - - -]	[- - - - - -]
ιμελητὴς]		[- - - - - -]	[- - - - - -]	[- - - - - -]
Ὀλύμπιχος]		[- - - - - -]	[- - - - - -]	

certain number of names missing)
Crowns for the four officials missing)

s inscription (Fig. 1) was taken from Greece to England rd Elgin, and is now in the British Museum. The exact ience remains unknown; Athens is perhaps slightly probable than Piraeus [20] (infra, on line 27).

lettering, by which the document was formerly dated

e published account of the Elgin collection (JHS, 36, 1916, 163–372) contains on. On the activities of Elgin's agents near Piraeus, JHS, 46, 1926, 253. Mr. yce, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, assures me that these articles ough.

worn surfaces, such as that of the present inscription, often yield new readings d squeezes are used, and I wish to thank Sir John Forsdyke, now Director of sh Museum, for arranging the making of three excellent squeezes, and a no ul photograph. I have not seen the stone.

previous editors were Osann, Boeckh, Foucart, Hicks, Koehler, Michel, and (references in IG and IG²). Divergences between their texts and the new not specified.

med. s. III, is definitely of the period 229–ca. 206 B.C., and
Archon Hagnias (line 9) appears to belong precisely in 216/

The stone preserves the original left side, roughly bevelled on the f
edge. The text shows that several centimeters are missing from the r
side. Brady, who has inspected the stone, notes that the top is broken,
a rectangular flat smoothed area in the middle of the present top shows wh
a dowel fastened the slab to a support behind, or to a block on top. This
ting is probably post-classical, but it shows that very little is now mis
from the original top; no decree preceded ours, and only a line or tw
missing. Brady's suggestion that the block was re-used at least once as p
of a threshold or door-jam is doubtless correct.

The stele itself was small, the original width having be
close to 0.34 m., and the height about 0.60 m. From this
would appear that the Sarapiastai were not wealthy in the l
third century. In this they resemble all the contemporary c
groups of Athens which have left inscriptions; a generati
later, finer lettering on much larger stelae indicates that t
clubs had then more money to spend on monuments, as did t
state itself from ca. 185 B.C. on.[22]

For minor points a brief commentary will suffice.

Line 2. Infra, p. 196.

Line 3. Σαραπιασταί appears 5 times in the decree. The cult societies of t
liked to repeat their own names in decrees: cf. IG, II², 1254, 1258.

Line 7, end. After the last alpha the photograph shows a trace as o
vertical stroke. If this trace represents a letter, the restoration given is wro

Line 8. κατὰ: the kappa is doubtful. If the former reading, παρὰ, be
tained, restore παρ[ὰ] τὸν [θίασον]. The cult societies often speak of νόμ
their own, not the state's (commentary on IG, II², 1325).

Line 10. For the verb, cf. IG, II², 1304, l. 4, λειτουργίας καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξ
ἐξῆχεν, and IG, II², 1285, where the object of the verb is twice restored.
the restoration in the present inscription is correct, ἐνιαυτός must mean 'on
year term.' Cf. IG, II², 1328, l. 25, συνδιεξαγαγεῖν . . . τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

Line 12. Olive was by far the most common material for crowns in Ath
nian cult societies, but it may be noted that Sarapiastai in Rhodes (IG, XI
1, 162) and Keos (IG, XII, 5, 606) also award crowns of olive.

Line 13. ταινίδιον: a short fillet tied with string at the ends; like th
ταινία and λημνίσκος, used to denote sanctity. A ταινίδιον was probably par
of most crowns of leaves, and the specific mention here is merely part of th

[21] S. Dow, Hesperia 2, 1933, 445; Harv. Stud. Class. Philol. 48, 1937, 105; AJA
40, 1936, 58–60.

[22] Infra, on line 17. On the public wealth of Athens ca. 200 B.C., cf. Ferguson, Hel
lenistic Athens, 237 and n. 2.

what fulsome style of the decree. For the literature on these fillets, and ured representations, see Hesperia 4, 1935, 87, n. 2, 85.

ne 17. Two generations earlier the penalty for failure to proclaim and wn had been fifty drachmas in two instances (IG, II², 1263, 1273); the other preserved instance, IG, II², 1297 of 236/5, specifies a penalty of drachmas.

ne 22. *κοινόν*: a term not used by the old Athenian gentile associations very common in documents of the later cult societies (Poland, Gesch. d. ereinwesens, 165; an early occurrence is IG, II², 2343 of the early fourth ury). *θιάσου* is also possible, especially if it appeared in line 8.

ne 24. Infra, p. 193.

ne 27. With normal spacing, it may be reckoned that close to 9 full rs are missing at the end. Of the usual expressions, none fits nearly so as *εἰς τὸ* [Σαραπιεῖον]. There is nothing to confirm this restoration, but ay be noted that the Asklepiastai set up a stele in the Asklepieion (IG, 1293), which was of course not their own property but the state's.

nes 30 ff. Infra, p. 192.

n studying the constitution of the society, one thinks first ocieties of Sarapiastai in other parts of the Greek world. en such societies are known at present. There is no similar- of organization, so far as one can observe, between any two hem.[23]

ince the various clubs of Sarapiastai offer no significant nt of comparison, one turns to the evidence about cult so- ies of all other kinds in Attica itself. That this latter ma- al, and not data from outside Athens, is the proper field comparisons is indicated by three facts: (1) *ἱεροποιοί* are wn in cult societies only in Athens and Delos;[24] (2) cult ieties in Athens usually have a *ταμίας*, whereas cult socie- elsewhere usually do not, and (3) the same is true of *γραμματεύς*.[25]

The list is (1) Methymna: IG, XII, 2, 511: 'synodos of the great Sarapieia,' a list of over 60 names. (2) Rhodos, various societies: IG, XII, 1, 162. (3) Kos: n and Hicks, 371: society under a gymnasiarch. (4) Kameiros: IG, XII, 1, 701. Keos, IG, XII, 5, 606: men who helped the society praised, crowned, the honors to nnounced at the Eisideia. (6) Delos: references in Roussel, Cultes, 254: meet er a *συναγωγεύς*, society seldom appears in our records, apparently disappeared y. (7) Thasos: Bull. Corr. Hell. 51, 1927, 219: *ἐπωνυμία* sold for 96 drachmas, pur- er to be crowned by the *δοχεύς*, the honor announced by the *ἱεροκῆρυξ*; *ἱερεύς* and *μματεύς* mentioned. Doubtful, devotees of (?) Isis, (8) Tomoi: Archäol.-Epigr. Mitt. terr., 6, 1882, 23 f., no. 46.

[24] Poland, Ges. gr. Vereinswesens, 388.

[25] Poland, op. cit., 376, 383.

The officers mentioned in IG, II², 1292 are the ταμίας, γραμματεύς, ἐπιμελητής; ἱεροποιοί (probably 3); and the προεδρ στρια, a total of 7. In Athenian cult societies there seems have been about one officer to every eight or ten membe IG, II², 1297 gives us a complete list which shows a total me bership of 58, including 6 officers. Hence there were probab not fewer than 50 nor more than 80 Sarapiastai.[26] No oth Athenian cult society is positively known to have had mo than 7 officials, and only two societies, both of later date, a known to have had more than 60 members.[27]

The προεδρανίστρια, as we shall see, is unique; the titles the treasurer, secretary, and epimeletes often appear togeth in other documents,[28] and the order of mention in the prese decree, which is the same as that of the subjoined list (an doubtless of the crowns missing beneath), is the order precedence regularly, though not invariably, observed other documents: ταμίας, γραμματεύς, ἐπιμελητής. The tamia Zopyros, was doubtless in this society as in others the leadin male official;[29] yet his standing here, or his services, were such as to give him special honors apart from his fello officers.[30] They had served together in former times, doubtl exchanging offices.[31] The tamias received the dues, of cours and disbursed the proper funds for such things as inscrib stelae, for sacrifices, for the burial of members.[32] The gra mateus was hardly ever [33] an officer of the first importance, that many more secretaries doubtless existed than appear

[26] The scheme given at the end, lines 30 ff., shows that the absolute minimum is 27.

[27] IG, II², 2358, 2360. On the sizes of cult societies, Poland, Ges. gr. Vereinswesens. 282 ff.

[28] IG, II², 1278, 1291, 1317, 1324, 1333, 1335; SEG, III, 127.

[29] A tamias is mentioned in some 25 decrees of Athenian cult societies. No other officer is so common: next are epimeletes, 21; grammateus, 16; hieropoios, 7. The tamias regularly has a lower position than the ἱερεύς and ἀρχεερανιστής in societies which have those officials; consonantly, among the Sarapiastai, as we shall see, the προεδρανίστρια has nominal precedence.

[30] Such special honors were generally a reward for payments out of his own pocket, as in IG, II², 1271, 1323, 1325, 1327.

[31] As in the Salaminian society of Bendis, see Dinsmoor, Archons, 91.

[32] IG, II², 1284, etc., 1327, 1278. Poland, op. cit., 380.

[33] Cf. IG, II², 1263, 1329.

ecords.[34] No society put itself under the presidency of an eletes. The epimeletes was always subordinate; there t be one epimeletes, as here, or a college of two or more lly of three epimeletai. The duties of the office might in- care of the hieron, marshalling the pompe, convening the mbly (agora), setting up stelae, announcing honors.[35] The e had no one distinctive duty; its holder seems often to done those tasks not naturally assigned to others. The poioi also were seldom prominent.[36] Their most regular gation, as here, was to announce honors;[37] they might also d crowns, and pour libations;[38] the κρεανομία[39] seems an opriate function; they could assist epimeletai in conven- an agora.[40] Their number was 3 in the only explicit in- ce.[41] Altogether, then, the organization of the Sarapiastai spects the male officers was evidently quite normal.

will be convenient here to raise the question whether the ty had other officers, perhaps very important, who are not tioned in the decree. The study of other cult societies vs how few are the decrees which name all the officers. icularly notable is IG, II², 1297 (thiasotai of Artemis Kal-) in which the priest — an Athenian, hence not one of a — is named only in the last line. It is barely possible the priest of Sarapis, if he existed, appeared in a similar line of IG, II², 1292; but otherwise the decree and espe- y the list read, I think, as if the chief officers are all being tioned. Their very number, as we have seen, also suggests conclusion. Finally, no officer common in other societies cking.

Ve have next to consider the status and duties of the ρανίστρια, Νικίππη. This title and name stand at the head he official roll of the society subjoined to the decree. Lists ll kinds from Athens, as I shall hope to show elsewhere,

A wealthy society, presumably also a big one, would have a γραμματεύς, ἀντιγρα- and γραμματοφύλαξ (IG, II², 1278, cult unknown).

IG, II², 1324, 1261, 1283, 1324, 1361, 1301, etc., 1314. Poland, op. cit., 407.

Cf. IG, II², 1261, 1265.

IG, II², 1263, 1297.

IG, II², 1297.

[39] IG, II², 1255.

[40] IG, II², 1361.

[41] IG, II², 1255.

were regularly drawn up with careful regard to precedenc
the ordering of the first few items especially. Hence the
eranistria was the head of the Sarapiastai. The title by i
might mean head of the women members (ἐρανίστριαι), but
position in the list shows that she was head of the men (ἐ
σταί) as well.

The title προερανίστρια occurs nowhere else, but the r
fact of an unique title should not be taken to imply uni
functions. As Roussel has noted,[42] the connotation of s
titles is generally vague. The only natural comparison is v
the ἀρχερανιστής, who is known in 6 Athenian societies.[43] In
instance,[44] the priest is superior to him; in one late instanc
he precedes, and is actually the father of, the priest; th
can be no question that the archeranistes was normally
head of his society. In fact the society can be specified a
μετὰ him.[46]

Thus the position in the list and the title itself prove
supremacy of Nikippe. In the decree proper she is the last
be praised, and briefly at that — she merely 'sacrificed
sacrifices at the appointed times.' There is no reason to d
that these are the sacrifices accredited to the Sarapiastai ge
erally, after which announcements were to be made (lines
16); a society with none too much money would not indulg
many sacrifices. Nikippe, the head of the society, perform
the principal duty of a priest, yet the decree does not give h
even an adverb. Her headship of the society had become,
always had been, merely nominal.

A likely explanation lies in the fact that she was a woma
Women were given very little part in the Egyptian cults
Delos.[47] In Athens women were excluded from most of th

[42] Cultes égyptiens à Délos, 266.

[43] IG, II², 1297, 1319, 1322, 1339, 1343, 2358.

[44] IG, II², 1343. [45] IG, II², 2358. [46] IG, II², 1322.

[47] Roussel, Cultes, 269 and n. 3, kanephoroi the only female officers; 270, lamp
terophoroi were female; 100, seven out of 16 dekadists are women; 84, one woman con
tributor out of 19; 158, one out of 9; 253–254, enatistai, who worship Isis, admit 2
men, no women. There was no priest or priestess of Isis in Delos, 275 n. 6 with refer
ences; in Egypt women had some share in some cults.

Women had only a meager share in cult societies generally all over the Greek worl
in all periods: the evidence in Poland, op. cit., 289–298.

ies; indeed the proeranistria stands alone as the only
n not a priestess who heads a society. There were priest-
nly in the societies of the Syrian Aphrodite, Bendis (who
ad priests), and Magna Mater. The latter is the most
cant for us, since in 245/4, when the first priestess of the
nes in Piraeus appears, she is honored with her husband,
h he held no official position. By 213/2 the orgeones of
other felt that they could honor a priestess without men-
of her husband; but the priestess of 211/0 crowns her
nd, though he is not mentioned in the decree.[48] The sug-
n may be offered that just in this period notions about
was seemly for priestesses were beginning to change.
feeling of this sort may account for the attitude toward
oeranistria. Nominal headship could be conceded to her;
hat a woman should be the actual managing head of a
society containing men was probably unthinkable then
any other time.

remains to suggest how Nikippe can have acquired her
al position of prominence. There is nothing to indicate
t was due to her part as sacrificer in the cult itself; rather
ms necessary to explain how she obtained that privilege
A suitable theory — which is mere speculation — is that
ad founded the society,[49] or at least had made large gifts
possibly she continued to pay for the sacrifices. This
ecognized in the position accorded to her. They could not
der calling her *ἀρχερανίστρια*, but *προερανίστρια* was an in-
ive title.[50]

en a quick reading of the text suggests that the society
een in existence some little time — as much perhaps as
ears; how much, if any, longer one cannot say. The facts
support this impression are the references to previous
es by the officers; the apparent regularity of the sacrifices
other functions; the number of officers, and the implied
o which the society has grown.

is a question of some moment, whether the officers and

G, II², 1316, 1314, 1315.

oland, loc. cit., has some instances of women founders.

ἱέρεια was probably out of the question because Sarapis was a male.

other members were all, or any of them, citizens. If there w no citizens among them, IG, II², 1292 can hardly be take evidence that Athens received the cult from political moti In accordance with a theory widely held at the time, Kirch included the three male officers, as certainly being Ather citizens, in the Prosopographia Attica, but omitted the pr anistria, Nikippe; Brady has accepted that high authorit Since there is no weighty evidence to be drawn from the na as names,[52] the solution depends largely on what may be arg from the absence of patronymics and demotics in the case all the officers honored, and of the list of members so far as t is preserved.

Line 2 is not clearly legible. Line 1 doubtless began with the name o year. The preamble should also contain the name of the month, pos ἀγορᾶι κυρίαι, and the name of the spokesman with εἶπεν. The spacing the preserved letters suggest that the first word of line 2 was the m This leaves ca. 15 letters for the designation of the spokesman, i.e. for name and patronymic, or (2) a name and demotic, or (3) a name and et or (4) merely a name. (1) would imply Athenian citizenship, and is unl in view of the absence of any indication elsewhere in the text that a the members was a citizen (see supra, on lines 30 ff.). Of (2) the same m said, plus the fact that Φαλη[ρεύς] and Κεφαλῆ[θεν], which might su themselves, conflict with some of the traces. (3) and (4) remain; unt correct reading and restoration are offered, no argument can be base line 2.

Does the absence of the demotic imply that the officials w metics or slaves? Or were demotics omitted perhaps as b familiar to all the members, or simply to save space, or beca mention of them might emphasize an invidious distinction b tween those who were and were not citizens? Our records a

[51] The old view (Brady, rightly dismissing it, gives references on p. 20, n. 65) w that the cult of Sarapis was public in Athens in the early third century B.C. Had th been so, some at least of its officers, and probably many of its other members, mus have been Athenians.

[52] Brady notes that no known Athenian family has a member named Nikippe. It has been alleged that the name Δωρίων (line 39) is borne by an Athenian citizen of the fourth century B.C. (PA, 4583a); but the name appears quite alone on a grave monument (IG, II¹, 3644). The date of the lettering seems to me correct; but the absence of patronymic and demotic proves that he was not a citizen. Another non-Athenian Δωρίων appears in a list of devotees of Artemis Kalliste, IG, II², 1298 of the archonship of Diomedon (241/0?); in a similar list, IG, II², 1297 of 237/6, note Δωριεύς, Δῶρος. The first known citizens named Δωρίων, as Brady points out, are of ca. 30 B.C.

ete enough to enable a fairly explicit answer.[53] In the
u century the clubs of citizens (ὀργεῶνες) often felt no
o specify the patronymic and the demotic.[54]
er ca. 300, the decrees of orgeones either state that the de-
s one of orgeones, or they specify the demotics.[55] The
of decrees of clubs of non-citizens (θιασῶται) begins just
300 B.C. In these decrees ethnics appear at times, more
not. The members were most probably without citizen-
or being citizens of foreign cities, they counted the fact
insufficient interest to warrant expression in the decrees;
some cases, some of the members might be slaves.[56] That
was an Athenian is made highly probable by the specific
ιασῶται.[57] The first inscription showing an Athenian among
tai is of ca. 200 B.C.[58] Down to the time of Sulla, there is no
ption of the cult clubs which leaves us in doubt as to the
of its members as a whole. If mixed, they are appropri-
distinguished.[59] It is a fair inference that the Sarapiastai
d in the legible parts of IG, II², 1292 were not Athenians.

hat follows brings up to date certain aspects of Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, which has references to older discussions).

, II², 1253 (contrast 1252 of the same club), 1256 (contrast 1255 of the same 258, 1259. There is but one troublesome text, a decree of the orgeones of Bendis iraeus, IG, II², 1324. The stone is lost. The arrangement, which is not *stoiche-* h lines not divided according to syllables, would favor a date in the late fourth third, rather than in the second, century B.C.

on-Athenians appear among orgeones in a few inscriptions: IG, II², 2947 of *I a.*; IG, II², 1327 of 178/7; and IG, II², 1337 of 95/4.

δημόσιος is so indicated in IG, II², 1335.

complete list of the thiasotai of Artemis Kalliste for 237/6 B.C. is preserved in 1297. That none was a citizen is shown by the fact that the (Athenian) priest nis Kalliste, who was not a thiasotes, is given his demotic. IG, II², 1298 is from e club. The orator is given a patronymic; doubtless he was not an Athenian. ssible exception is IG, II², 2943 of *s. III a.* In this the thiasotai crown four . The last is designated Σαμαρίτης; the other three have patronymics only, robably shows that they are not Athenians. Cf. IG, II², 1261, where one ios, ὁ θωρακοποιός, in a thiasos of Aphrodite, is given one name in five different is, then a patronymic in the sixth, which is the last, mention. He was probably Athenian. A similar instance is found in IG, II², 1271. Again in IG, II², 1283 34 some patronymics appear: the men were definitely not Athenians (Fergu- ibal Cycles, 81, n. 1). The eranistai of IG, II², 1291 are to be taken as non- n.

, II², 1323, the spokesman: distinguished by patronymic and demotic.

, II², 1335.

V. The Official Public Adoption

IG, II², 4692

ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ ΙΣΙΔΙ [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

vacat 0.025 m.

ἐπὶ ἱε[ρ]έως Στησικράτου τοῦ Σ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
demotic

vacat 0.015 m.

ζακορεύοντος Ἡρακ[λ- - - - - - - - - - - -]
ethnic

First published as Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1853, no. 1813, p. 1007. See also infra, p. Koehler (IG, II¹, 1612) reports having copied the inscription on the Acro it is surprising that Pittakys or anyone else should have carried it the

The preserved fragment is from the left front corner of a base which have been ca. 0.6 m. square. The original top and bottom, which are served, appear to have been trimmed as bearing surfaces: pick marks in the middle, and the edges are smoother. No moulding was cut on block.

In IG, II², the inscription (Fig. 2) is dated by the letter which is the only evidence, *s. II a.* The letters of line 1 almost twice as tall as those of lines 2 and 3. In line 1 the ters have serifs (*apices*), rather poor, tentative ones, as if mason had had little practice in making them. The n similar parallels in this respect are IG, II², 4676 of ca. 224 200 B.C. (lettering which seems earlier than 4692) and II², 2798 of ca. 201/0 B.C. The smaller letters, lines 2 an have no serifs. The closest parallels to the forms of the sm letters are from the 180's B.C. In the 160's, more develo serifs and broken bars in the alphas would be expected. inscription dates, therefore, from ca. 210 B.C. at earliest, 170 at latest, and preferably from soon after 200 B.C.

Line 1. For restoration in the short space available, th elements might be considered. In Delos Ἀνούβιδι would be pected: among over 200 dedications there, only three w certainly offered to Sarapis and Isis together by themselve

[60] Roussel, Cultes, nos. 23, 55, 172. Others: no. 10, a small block, has a *rasura* a Ἴσι. No. 33 is to Osiris and Isis. No. 41 adds the θεοὶ ἐντεμένιοι. In 49 *ter*, lin restore [Ἀνούβι], as in 49. In no. 67, line 2, restore Ἀνούβει, as the spacing would app to suggest.

FIGURE 2. *IG*, II², 4692, Reverse of Squeeze. Scale 1:2½.

FIGURE 3. COLOSSAL FOOT IN ATHENS

ɔjection to this restoration is that one or both of the other
ıts which ought to appear would have to be cut on a
.te block of the monument, and this would be unusual.
edications in Delos ordinarily, but not always, contain
catory word, such as *εὐχήν*.[61] The name of the dedicant
l appear, but spacing excludes more than one word: the
ınt, if named here, was not a citizen. Thus a likely resto-
is [short name *εὐχήν*]. For an asyndeton similar to *Σαράπιδι*
however, I find no contemporary parallel in Athens.[62]
was plenty of space on the stone for more large letters.
['*Ανούβιδι* short name], or better ['*Ανούβιδι εὐχήν*] is to be pre-
; the dedicant's name may have appeared on a super-
ed block which would naturally bear the moulding.

e 2. The spacing leaves no doubt that a demotic[63] (as
s the rest of the patronymic) was present; and the line
ned no other missing word. The priest then was an
ian citizen. To understand this finding, it is necessary
ıblish first what the title *ἱερεύς* by itself implies, and second
tenure of a priesthood by an Athenian citizen implies. The
ρεύς might be bestowed by thiasotai (non-Athenians) on
their own number, as by the thiasotai of Magna Mater
I², 1273), and of Bendis (IG, II², 1283); the latter had an
also. Hence the title by itself does not imply that a given
s official. Thiasotai could not conceivably choose an
ian to be priest of a state cult.[64] Hence tenure of a priest-
by an Athenian can only mean that he held an official

ıther than *ἀνέθηκεν*: the connotations of *ἀνέθηκεν* (*-αν*) at this period are clear
use in the Delian dedications to the Egyptian gods. Twelve instances only ap-
ll except no. 145 certainly refer to objects of considerable size and value, not
ɔrtable votives but large permanent structures. No. 145, a small plaque, there-
ers to the structure to which it was attached. — In the (earlier) inventories,
r, *ἀνάθημα* is regularly used, and *ἀνέθηκεν* appears, for small objects.

Delos, Roussel, Cultes, no. 23 has *Σαράπιδι Ἴσιδι*. The dedications in Athens to
ɔs and Hygieia regularly have *Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ὑγιείαι*.

ıere is no earlier or contemporary instance of a foreign priest being given the
le, i.e. patronymic and ethnic, — a style rarely given to any foreigner in the
ieties, supra, p. 197.

ıite possibly the good relations between the thiasotai and the Athenian priest
mis Kalliste (IG, II², 788, 1297, 1298) may imply that the successive priests
d' by the state were chosen from among men already known to be well disposed
the thiasotai.

state post for which he was chosen (usually by allotmen
the state; or else that he held an unofficial post for whi
was chosen by (Athenian) orgeones. Of the latter there
have been several, but only the priest and priestess of B
(IG, II², 1283), the priestess of Magna Mater (IG, II²,
1314, 1315, 1328, 1329), and the priest of the Soteriastai
II², 1343) appear in our records. It is conceivable further
the names of such priests could be used to date dedicat
and in fact a solitary example seems to have survived.[65]
orgeones of Sarapis are known in Athens. Altogether
virtually certain that the priest of Sarapis in IG, II², 46
a priest of an official state cult, chosen by the state; fur
that, as an official state cult, the cult of Sarapis is now a
in which all the citizens as a body were in theory particip
the ἱερεύς being chosen from among them, and serving
god [66] on their behalf; the expenses being met at least part
by or through the state, and the income, if any, being of c
subject to state control. These assumptions I believe t
correct generally, and in particular with regard to the cu
Sarapis.[67] The date when the cult was adopted by Athens
be discussed more at length infra, p. 229. The priest
probably chosen by lot, now or eventually, in cyclical rota
among the tribes, like the (Athenian) priest of Sarapis at D
Stesikrates son of S----- is at present otherwise unknown.
name Stesikrates is not known otherwise in Attica, but th
not a weighty argument against the theory that he was a cit

Line 3. The only other official to be mentioned, though t
was ample space for more, is the ζάκορος, who probably c
bined the functions of deacon (the words are related) an
sexton.[68] In Part VIII infra we meet two other holders of

[65] L. Robert plausibly conjectured that a known priestess of Magna Mater ap
in IG, II², 4687a (p. 353). No patronymic nor demotic is given.

[66] There was certainly no priest (or priestess) of Isis in Delos, and none ca
proved in Athenian records earlier than the Roman list IG, II², 1950. On the other
it is *only* on the analogy of Delian documents (and of IG, II², 2336) that the prie
IG, II², 4692 and the other Athenian documents is called a priest of Sarapis. Doub
as in Delos he served Isis and the others too.

[67] See further, Roussel, Rev. Égyptologique, NS, 1, 1919, 89.

[68] On ζάκορος generally see Poland, Gesch. d. gr. Vereinsw., p. 387, who how

ɔn, a Λαοδικεύς and a Μιλήσιος. In Delian dedications the ɔs usually has no patronymic nor ethnic; one is desig- Ἀντιοχεύς and one appears to be the son of a priest, means an Athenian citizen. In any listing of function- the zakoros is naturally last,[69] even following the signa- of sculptors. The post of zakoros was therefore honorable, hardly exalted — a place which metics were doubtless ed to hold. Hence in line 3, where the spacing suggests dditional word, an ethnic is to be supplied. Down to e date of IG, II², 4702 (infra, p. 212), the term of office oubtless one year, as at Delos down to the time of Sulla.[70] e traces of line 3 on the stone are now practically illegible, n fact the name was read by Koehler as ΗΙ//ΛΙ. Even s now gone.

is probable that the official cult in Athens was served at ime by no other officers. There was space on the stone for bing both a κλειδοῦχος and a κανηφόρος, offices restricted henians. The Delian dedications show, however, that if functionary beside the priest is mentioned, the zakoros e chosen, whether or not any third and fourth function- be included on the list.[71] This Delian evidence, to be sure, eral decades later. See further infra, p. 211.

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grasp of the place of the zakoros in Delos; and he mistakes the character of the dedication, which has no necessary relation to a cult society.

xception: Roussel, Cultes, no. 185.

he zakoros in Delos: Roussel, Cultes, 269; Rev. Égyptologique, NS, 1, 1919, the Egyptian cults at Eretria: Arch. Delt., I, 1915, 148.

Athens, apart from the Egyptian cults, zakoroi are not numerous. They are in the cult of Asklepios (but not before *med.s.I a.*, IG, II², 4466, etc.), of a d doctor (IG, II², 840), of the Pythais (IG, II², 3520), at Eleusis (IG, II², 3639); ciety of Acharnians (IG, II², 2953); cults unknown, IG, II², 3550, 3654, 4770, 5158. Most explicit is the pair of decrees IG, II², 1328, which give particulars of vision for, and appointment of, a female zakoros for life by the orgeones of Magna , 183/2–175/4. Here the office is distinctly honorable, with financial obligations. er, infra, p. 212 f.

e zakoros of Sarapis is the earliest known zakoros in Athens. One cannot help ting that the office was invented at about this time as a device for getting gifts rich metics, who also performed very real services, and who secured for them- participation with Athenians in the cults.

Priest and zakoros alone only in nos. 147, 150–153, also p. 179; cf. nos. 182, 183. akoros is absent when other functionaries appear only in nos. 171 and 174. — The common practice is to mention only the priest. The next most common practice

VI. Athens and the Cults in Delos

The attitude of Athenians toward the Egyptian gods
be gauged by a study of their conduct of the cults in
from 166 B.C., when they acquired the island, down to the
of Sulla. The wealth and income of the Egyptian shrines
already considerable in 166, and Athens set about contr
it. The private worship, which had been carried on in
pieion A, despite the verdict of the Roman Senate, was s
how squelched; Sarapieion B also ceased to be used. F
for new offerings in the public Sarapieion (C) was made b
transfer of numerous objects to the temple of Artemis.
in the first twenty years the inventories record an impr
number of votives, so that by 146 B.C. the total numb
votives in the Sarapieion was surpassed only by the numb
the temple of Apollo himself. When the inventories fail us
inscribed bases of dedications, preserved by chance, pr
the series down to 88 B.C. and enable us to conceive the w
of offerings which continued to pour in.[72]

A new aspect of Athenian policy may be grasped by s
ing, from the whole body of dedications, those which
made by Athenians. First, by the Demos of Athens[73]: —

		Kallistratos B, c
ante 156/5	Two objects of silver, total value ca. 100 dr.	lines 43–45
ca. 150–136	Temple to Isis re-built and re-dedicated.	No. 74
135/4	Chapel to Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis.	No. 76
130/29	Small chapel to Anoubis.	No. 80
128/7	Cult statue for the temple of Isis.	No. 86
ca. *init.s.I*	Building of unknown purpose.	No. 172

No. 74. The date has to be vague: earlier than the chapel to Anoubis (no. 80)
not too long before the cult statue (no. 86). The earlier inscriptio
pears to be indecipherable. Roussel, Cultes, 61–62, 128.

No. 80. The mosaic flooring was given by one Demetrios of Sidon (no. 81).

is to list three or four functionaries. — The persistent occurrence of the zakoros do
less means that he was the one who during the year usually took most interest in
shrine: that he would be on hand much of the time, that he would keep the dec
tions in order, etc.

[72] This paragraph is based on Roussel's Cultes, 261–272, to which the reader is
ferred. The documents for the rest of this section are published therein.

[73] The little stele no. 111 of 117/6 is clearly not a record of any large monumen
construction.

next list includes all the dedications made by, but not made on behalf of (the official) Priests of Sarapis.[74]

c.	*μέγαρον*, to Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis	No. 90
	- - - -, to Sarapis, Isis, [Anoubis, - - - ?]	No. 91
'3	Large round altar, to Sarapis or Isis (?)	No. 97
	Votive set in a base, to - - - -	No. 107
	Exedrai, to Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis, Harpokrates	No. 108
	Vaults, altars, stair, to Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis, Harpokrates	No. 112, 112 bis
	Fountain (no deity named)	No. 113
	- - - - *ἱδρύσαντο*[75] (no deity named)	No. 117
	(Chapel?) *ἱδρύσατο*, to Isis	No. 121
	Statue of Isis Hygieia	No. 124
	Capital of a Doric stoa (?)	No. 133a
	Chapel and statue of Isis Nemesis	No. 138
	Inscription for the statue alone	No. 139>
	Votive set in a round base, to Isis Nemesis	No. 140
9	Votive set in square base, to *θεοί*	No. 141
	Some large walled object (chapel?) bearing a small votive plaque, to Isis Taposiris	No. 142
	Gate, (- - - - - - - - - -), and mosaic, to [Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis,] Harpokrates	No. 144
	Plaque dedicating - - - - (no deity named)	No. 145
	Doric temple, to Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis, Harpokrates	No. 160
	Statue (?) set in a base, to Isis Aphrodite Dikaia	No. 161
'7?	Votive set in a base, to Ammon	No. 171
/8	Votive set in a small niche, to Artemis Hagia	No. 179
/8	Votive set in a base, to Isis	No. 180

allowance must be made for accidents of preservation, e number of preserved dedications is so large that infer- are permitted. It appears that large constructions by the s, the priests, or laymen were infrequent in the earlier of the Athenian regime.[76] Eventually the Demos, moved ess by the popularity of the cult and the need for more to store votives, undertook to enlarge the equipment of

the sake merely of simplicity, all the dedications are dated in the year of the term, though a few may have been made later (Daux, Rev. Ét. Gr., 47, 6).

s term applies to a building or a statue (Cultes, 149).

ssel's list (Cultes, 264–265) contains no large dedication by anyone before

the cult by building a series of small temples. Various la doubtless contributed parts of these buildings, and perha priests did a share. It can hardly be an accident, how that the long series of dedications by priests begins just years after the last of the continuous series by the Demos. inference is that by ca. 128/7, the building program o Demos was complete. Neither is it accidental that all very few dedications by the priests are not small simple vo on pedestals, but chapels, other constructions, and articles of cult furniture.[77] This does not mean that the D had changed its attitude toward the Egyptian cults in D The Demos can have made numerous expensive small de tions of which, due to the lack of inventories, we are ignor

From ca. 126/5, each priest was evidently expected to some contribution to the equipment of the cult.[79] The ob tion was not legal, and doubtless some priests failed to co ute. Other priests were zealous, among them some who left us clear hints of their personal feelings about the Egy deities (infra, p. 216 n. 124).[80]

Of dedications made by Athenian laymen, we know cluding those recorded in the inventories.[81] The relati priests and other functionaries dedicated 12 of these; on

[77] The lesser dedications by priests, to judge from the bases, were nos. 107, 14 171, 179, 180.

[78] No. 172 shows that a generation or so later the Demos put up another bu which may mean that no priest then could afford to. Popular subscriptions w other means of adding equipment: nos. 132, 133, 168. Laymen undertook ex gifts occasionally: nos. 75, 81, 130–131 (the Pastophorion, by two Romans a Antiochean ca. 112/1), 146, 173.

The workmanship in general of all these buildings, statues, and altars is some economical, even shoddy (Roussel, Cultes, 266).

[79] The list of ἀπαρχαί IG, II², 2336 is an illustration of the fact that by ca. 10 many Athenian offices involved liturgies. When contributions were raised by pop subscription, it was the priest who set up the record (nos. 175 A, 175 B), and prob headed the list (no. 175 C).

[80] Dedications by other Athenian officials of the cult are negligible: a zakoros up a dedication on a small base (no. 154), and a kleidouchos another (no. 209). small number and size of these dedications confirm the views of the officers sugge supra, p. 201 and infra, p, 212.

[81] The statement in Cultes, 283, is to be modified. The number of Athenian dedicators exceeds all others except perhaps the indeterminate number made by na Delians, and the Ἰταλικοί as a group.

ning 8 were made by persons not known to have had fficial connection with the cult.[82] To these should be added s, doubtless a goodly number, who enrolled themselves nall amounts in lists of subscribers.[83]

e date of the first dedication by a layman, apart from those led in the preserved inventories, happens to be 126/5 B.C. nference is that at about the time when the priests them- were put under obligation to assist in constructions, the nians generally began to make larger offerings.[84]

have seen thus far that Athenian interest in the equip- of the cults began to increase markedly from not before , that in 126/5 the priests began to assume large bur- and that the laity began to set up votives on stone at the time. Naturally one asks whether the personnel of offi- was correspondingly increased at that same period. The ls show that the first kleidouchos appears in 111/0, the anephoros in 117/6, and the first zakoros in 111/0.[85] sel doubted whether the complete absence of all three to the dates given could be due to chance.[86] We have hat after the respective dates just given, the subordinate s were often not mentioned in inscriptions dating from in which all three certainly functioned.[87] As regards the years preceding those dates, the argument from a com- silence, when the documents are so numerous, is neverthe- elling; and the facts which have emerged about Athenian

ne objects dedicated are of all kinds except entire buildings. The list is: rela- cult officials, nos. 94, 125–129, 135, 155, 159, 162, 169 (duplicate: BCH, VI, 17), 187; no official connection with the cult, inventories Kallistratos B, col. I, –36, 53–54 and Metrophanes A, lines 65–66, 73–74, and nos. 92, 147, 165, 186. nus nos. 168 (see p. 174), 175 C a, line 11 (?), and many others who cannot be ly identified as Athenians.

nis might be due, in theory, to a mere change of style, whereby big cheap ob- re set up out-of-doors on stone pedestals, instead of smaller objects of precious hich had to be stored in-doors. The use of stone bases for dedication had been , however, for centuries, and had been used plentifully by non-Athenians in ery shrines.

ltes, table opposite p. 272. The oneirokrites, who is rarely mentioned among ials in Delos, dates back nearly to 166, and doubtless the position existed, for- r otherwise, before then.

ltes, 268.

ltes, nos. 135, 136. Supra, p. 201, n. 71.

public and private policy leave no reasonable doubt. The
dence at present available points to the creation in Delos o
subordinate functionaries (kleidouchos, kanephoros, and
ros) sometime in the period 135/4–117/6–111/0. The
probable period is ca. 120 — after the program of build
was well along, i.e., soon before the respective first reco
appearances of those functionaries. It will be noted that
new chronological findings fit the general picture of relig
and artistic expansion in Delos after ca. 135 B.C. (Fergu
Hellenistic Athens, 361, 385).

It remains to consider the priest himself. The fact is
well established that the first Athenian priest of Sarapi
Delos was appointed in 166/5 or very soon after. Dedicat
of the earlier Athenian period sometimes mention the offi
epimeletes of Delos, then the two commissioners ἐπὶ τὰ
and finally the priest;[88] but the priest might precede bo
No other official ever precedes the priest.

Supreme in his own bailiwick, the priest of Sarapis wa
first low in the Delian hierarchy. The word 'hierarchy' is
to denote an order of at least approximate precedence a
the ten Delian priests given by a list of ca. 157/6 B.C.[90]
priest of Sarapis is ninth in this list. From the years ca. 100
the great list of ἀπαρχαί, IG, II², 2336, preserves several a
lists of Delian and other officials. The priests are not record
the same unvarying order in each of these years, except
the priest of Apollo is always first (as of course in the ear
list also), while the others follow an order which plainly
dicates a rough system of precedence. The priest of Sarapi
respectively fifth, sixth, seventh, and fifth. There can be
doubt, therefore, that the increased Athenian interest in t
cult, which this study has attempted to trace, raised the pre
tige of the priest of Sarapis to a middling position among t
heads of the Delian cults.[91]

As a cause partially, and partially as an effect, of the presti
of the office, many of the priests were themselves distinguishe

[88] Cultes, nos. 76, 86, 87, 125. [89] Nos. 85, 135, 144.

[90] Roussel, Dél. col. ath., 202; Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, 167, n. 2.

[91] In a forthcoming study of IG, II², 2336, the data in this paragraph will be mad
more explicit.

Thus Ἀθηναγόρας Ἀθηναγόρου Μελιτεύς, of 126/5 was a
rid member of a family with prominent connections past,
t, and future (stemma, Sundwall, N[achträge zur]
pographia] A[ttica], p. 4; later connections, commentary
., II², 3609; related by marriage to Eteoboutadai of Bate,
ing the orator Lykourgos; to Medeios of Piraeus, also
e Sophokles-Xenokles and Themistokles-Theophrastos
es).

VII. Symbols on Coins

e following symbols of the Egyptian gods appear on
nian coins: [92]

Series	Date	Symbol
ΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ-ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	ante-110/9 B.C.	Isis standing
ΗΜΕΑΣ-ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ	110/9	Head-dress of Isis

e symbols chosen by the mint magistrates were doubtless
finitely personal,[93] but also generally intelligible, at least
henians; and any particular magistrate would select a
ol which indicated his principal sphere of public activity.[94]
nference is that two of the four magistrates named had
prominent in the cult of the Egyptian gods.[95] The mint
trates, so far as they can be identified, were aristocrats.[96]
e the coins show that ca. 110 B.C. at least two prominent
ians could adopt as their principal interest the cult of
and that their fellow-citizens could recognize even her
dress in a tiny relief.[97]

e infra, p. 226 for publications, etc. For the head-dress, Svoronos, Trésor, pl.
. 13–27. The date 110/9 is from M. Kambanis, BCH, 1934, 115; to the other
o exact year can be assigned.

erguson, Hellenistic Athens, 287, n. 4, 303.

he symbol would naturally be the same as that on the man's own signet ring.
seai, found in Athens, stamped with a head-dress of Isis (BCH, 8, 1884, 9, no.
pl. II) shows that in at least one instance the cult of Isis did provide a symbol
gnet.

or the view, which needs fuller proof, that the magistrate named second in each
egularly chose the symbol for that series, see Kambanis, Arethusa, 5/6, 1928
), 125.

or information on this point and on Athenagoras (p. 207), I am indebted to Mr.
lacKendrick of Harvard University.

he head and head-dress, however, were not uncommon as symbols on coins (A.
De Serapide, 7). The Egyptian symbols on Athenian coins are mentioned by
all, Untersuchungen, 62, 109, and by Brady, Reception, 42.

VIII. The Cults in Athens ca. 100 B.C.

EM, 649

Ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4. Not *stoichedon*

Ἴσιδι Σαράπιδι
Ἀνούβιδι Ἀρποκράτη[ι]
Μεγαλλὶς Μάγα
Μαραθωνίου θυγά
τηρ ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγα
τρὸς Δημαρίου καὶ
[[τῶν ὑῶν]] κατὰ
πρόσταγμα, ἐπὶ ἱε
ρέως Μενάνδρου
τοῦ Ἀρτέμωνος
Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, κλε[ι]
δουχοῦντος Ἀσω
ποκλέους Φλυέως,
ζακορεύοντος Σω
σικράτου Λαοδικέ
ως, κρίνοντος τὰ ὁ
[ρ]άματα Διονυσίου
Ἀντιοχέως.

Now in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, inv. no. 649. Base of H
tian marble, cut to support a dedication. Broken above and below: p
height, 0.37 m. Both sides preserved, the width being 0.18 m. This w
front, since it is the inscribed surface. The thickness, now 0.21 m.,
to be original. The object dedicated therefore had sides slightly l
than its front (objects dedicated to Isis in Delos are listed in Roussel, C
275–276), or the monument may have been a herm. Height of letters, 0.0
Letters once read on the stone and now missing are underlined.

Over a century ago this dedication for Isis, etc., was foun
a house at 11a Philothea Street. Published several times,[98]
content of the inscription so strongly resembled certain De

[98] A. Boeckh, Archaeologischen Intelligenzblatt der Hallischen Allgemeine
Zeitg., 1835, No. 4, p. 25, and Intell.-Bl. d. Allg. Litt. Zeit., 1835, no. 33, p. 268.

that Koehler omitted it from the Attic Corpus, Rusch it as evidence for Delos, and Kirchner later affirmed vely that it was Delian.[99] Roussel perceived, but could efinitely prove, that it was Athenian.[100]

e letters (see the photograph, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1913, 198) were cut mason whose work is easily recognizable. He formed his ·s proper by thin strokes, ornamenting the ends of strokes ·avy serifs; and more freely than any other mason he made of blank spaces to separate clauses and even words. The f precisely dated inscriptions cut by him is at present as ws:[101]

²², 1228	116/5 B.C.
neis,[102] no. 96 = IG, II², 989	104/3
²², 2336, parts	100/99 and some following years
²², 1028	100/99

ıe fact that the mason worked in Athens would not be a lusive argument against supposing that the inscription Delian: his work might have taken him from Delos to ·ns, as actually happened in one instance known to me; ıe stone, if inscribed in Delos, might have been carried to ·ns in post-classical times. The precise place of finding in ·ns, however, definitely establishes the Athenian origin of inscription. It has not been noted that Philothea Street s out of the square in which the Metropolitan Church now ds; no. 11a is about 45 m. from the square. The Sarapieion somewhere in this neighborhood (infra, p. 226; 230, n. 156). ines 1–7. In the dedication as a whole, the gods are given place. Contemporary Delian dedicators tended to name

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I have not seen; the former only as reprinted in Boeckh's Kleine Schriften, VI, K. Keil, Rh. Mus., 19, 1864, 255–256. A. Rusch, De Serapide et Iside in Graecia , 52. K. Kourouniotes, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1913, 197. P. Roussel, Les cultes égyptiens los, 268, n. 2.

›eckh knew it from Mustoxis, via Forchhammer. Boeckh writes that it was found then bei einer armen Frau.' The precise street address is given by Keil. Nothing ·s, to be sure, that the inscription had not been moved in the intervening thirty .

Berl. Phil. Woch., 28, 1908, 884.

Loc. cit.

Among those not precisely dated is IG, II², 1023; see AJA, 38, 1934, 102, n. 4. S. Dow, Hesperia, Supplement I (Athens, 1937).

themselves first and to subordinate the gods.[103] It is no
also that Megallis did not name herself among the benefici
as people in Delos often did.

Line 1. The principle of precedence in lists, which ena
us to recognize the extraordinary position of the προεραν
here draws attention to a female divinity. In dedication
up in Delos, Sarapis regularly took precedence over all o
gods and goddesses, except Zeus alone.[104] Only twice do o
deities precede Sarapis: in a dedication of 106/5, the ord
Isis, Sarapis, Anoubis. The dedicator [105] in that year also
woman. The date may not be a mere coincidence, and
prominence awarded to Isis is not altogether due to the
that the dedicators are both women (infra, p. 231).[106]

Line 2. Anoubis and Harpokrates [107] here occupy their
mal positions.

Line 3. Roussel has conjectured plausibly that Μεγαλλίς
the daughter of a Μάγας who was a mint magistrate in Ath
ca. 150 B.C.[108]

Line 7. The letters τῶν υἱῶν are inscribed in a *rasura*.
text does not make it clear whether they are the sons of M

[103] There are several exceptions but the tendency is definite. Earlier the gods
frequently named first: the motive of personal ostentation became steadily str
during the second century.

[104] Zeus is never subordinated to any deity in the dedications from the Sarapi
Delos, except to the unidentified Θεὸς μέγας (= Sarapis?) of Roussel, Cultes, n
cf. nos. 153, 166, 187, 190.

[105] Ἑλλὰς Αἰμυλία. Roussel, Cultes, no. 149. It is possible that no. 123, of which
line is missing, was similar (114/3 B.C.). The other instance is ante-166 B.C. (no.
Anoubis Hegemon, Sarapis Soter, Isis Soteira.

[106] Seven dedications of the Athenian period made by women are preserved
Delos: only one is to Isis alone, the rest are to the regular group Sarapis, Isis, Anoub
(Harpokrates). Dedications primarily on behalf of women, of which there are six,
clude only one to Isis alone.

[107] Properly, the breathing should be smooth: W. Schulze, Kleine Schriften, 38
391 (= Zeits. f. Sprachforsch. a. d. Gebiete d. indogerm. Sprache, 33, 1895, 233–242
Orthography in Delos: most common is Ἀρποχράτης in all periods; Ἀρφοκράτης curiousl
in five dedications of 120/19–118/7 (no other spelling in these years) in the inventor
Metrophanes A, lines 52–53, and in a dedication of 105/3; Ἀρποκράτης in six scattere
instances, four of them dedications by Athenian citizens; Ἀρφοχράτης in no. 192, posi
140 B.C., by a Tyrian. The list of forms in E. Sittig, De graecorum nominibus theoph
oris (Diss. Philol. Hal., vol. XX), 162 is to be amended.

[108] Loc. cit. Sundwall, Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen, 41.

her daughter Demarion: since Demarion precedes them, e husband of Megallis, to judge from his absence, was ly dead, Megallis may well have been a grandmother. letters which were inscribed in the erased area to replace ginal text do not fill that area, despite very wide spacings. iginal text should contain $9\frac{1}{2}$ or 10 letters, provided no be included, and the reading appears to be . . . . *ο* . . . *γα*. slight gap after the last letter (alpha), it may be inferred ie original text, like the present one, came to the end of se just at that point. The erasure may have been oced by a gross clerical error, but the appearance is rather change was made in the sense of the document. The ition [*τοῦ ὑ*]*ο*[*ῦ Μά*]*γα* fits the space. Evidently it was d at some time after the monument had been inscribed brother (or brothers) of the younger Magas should be ed. If "the sons" were grandchildren of Megallis, posne of them had not been born when the stone was first ed. The hand which inscribed *τῶν ὑῶν*, however, is the which inscribed the entire original text.

à *πρόσταγμα*: the command being given presumably in m. This and the related formulae listed: Graindor, es sous Hadrien, 162, n. 3.

11. A functionary called *κλειδοῦχος* is known for the ian cults only in Athens and Delos.[109] In contemporary dedications to the Egyptian gods, the kleidouchos is mentioned among the officials; never alone, and never he priest only,[110] but always in a group of three or four. leidouchos, when present, is always second in the list, e.[111] The Delian kleidouchos is always an Athenian, and od' family. Lafaye thought he was important as guardian iple treasures; [112] Roussel, that he took part in the daily ony of opening the doors at dawn [113] and, presumably, of

oussel, Cultes, 268.

we have noted, dedicants were always inclined to name the zakoros when only ciate of the priest was wanted in their inscriptions.

ception: Roussel, Cultes, no. 170, where the fact of *two κανηφόροι* displaced e is omitted entirely, in favor of the kanephoros, in nos. 156, 173, 174, 185.

afaye, Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie, 141.

oussel, Cultes, 268.

closing them at night: possibly only his slave attended in son. The attitude of the dedicants suggests that the kleidou was not usually very active in whatever capacity.[114]

Line 14. On the zakoros, supra, p. 201. In the Delian cations, it happens that zakoros and *ὀνειροκρίτης* never ap in the same document. Here the zakoros takes precedenc

Line 16. The *ὀνειροκρίτης*, as he is called in Delos, was no judge from his rare appearances in dedications, officially portant; in fact he never appears in a list of functionaries. position in the present list, at the end, is therefore what would expect.[115]

Roussel has commented on the parallelism of cult orga tion in Delos and Athens as illustrated by this text. The d cation consists in the facts that the deities are the same, they are listed in the same order, allowing for the promin given Isis; that the officials are the same, that they are li in the same order;[116–117] and that the zakoros and interp of dreams are foreigners.

IG, II², 4702

Init. s. I a.

Traces of a sculptured relief

Ἰσιδι Δικαιοσύν[ηι]

Κτησικλῆς Ἀπολλοδ[ώρου]
Ἁλιμούσιος ἀνέθηκ[εν]
ἐπὶ ἱερέως Σώσου [τοῦ]
Χαρμίδου Αἰθαλίδου

vacat 0.023 m.

ζακορεύοντος
Ζωπύρου Μιλησίο[υ]

[114] The kleidouchos appears in a very few other cults in Athens, of which the imp tant one is that of Asklepios. From two decrees (IG, II², 974, 975) of 137/6 B.C. and a s ilar date, and from a list of the first century B.C. (IG, II², 1944), it appears that the pri if he had a son who would qualify, regularly made the son kleidouchos. The kleidouch whoever he might be, seems regularly to have been the second in precedence.

[115] On the office and its place in the cult, see Roussel, Cultes, 269–270; O. Rub sohn in Festschrift Vahlen, 1 ff.; A. D. Nock, Conversion, 54.

[116–117] No *κανηφόρος* appears. In the Egyptian cults of Delos she appears about as oft as the kleidouchos, who regularly precedes her when both are present. The absence

ibly a stele, certainly not an altar, since it has a relief above (de- infra, p. 226). The left side of the face is cut back to a depth of and a width of 0.024 m. all the way up the side. This cutting respects and hence may indicate that the preserved dedicatory stele was y used or intended for something else.

ext furnishes a similar problem. The part surrounded by a line in ion is cut entirely *in rasura*. Lines 1 and 6–7, standing outside the represent the original inscription. The original inscription, to judge preserved spacing, also had seven lines, of which 2–5 were erased. d which carved the present lines 2–5 was not the hand which carved ier text; the second hand spaced the lines closely, so that a gap was he erased area after the new line 5.

e the new text in lines 2–5 is by a different hand, this xt is not merely a correction of the old text, but a new tion of the monument itself. The new dedicator allowed me of the deity (line 1) and of the zakoros (lines 6–7) to ι; he mentions a priest, and the natural (though not ible) inference is that this priest held office in some year han the year of the original dedication. If this is correct, os of Miletos held the office of zakoros in at least two nt years, probably for a term of years, like the nearly porary Εὔοδος Ἀντιοχεύς in Delos.[118]

son of Zopyros was an ephebe in 101/0 B.C. (IG, II², line 145), which implies some wealth in the family, as be expected in the case of a zakoros (supra, p. 201). It ible that Zopyros had named his son Ammonios. The ng of the cult at this time is shown by the fact that the of Sarapis [119] himself (later) became a thesmothetes (IG, 15).

as the even-handed dispenser of Justice was worshipped los and elsewhere, including Egypt (Roussel, Cultes,).

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oros in the present text does not mean that none was attached to the cult in The prominence of Isis might seem to prove the opposite, but the Delian evi- a whole does not support the theory that the kanephoros there was especially l to Isis. On Athens later, infra, p. 225.

same three officers, but without the interpreter of dreams, appear in Roussel, nos. 146 and 148 (of 107/6 B.C.), and 166 (of ca. 94/3).

oussel, Cultes, pp. 179–180.

y a mere slip, the priest is said to be of Isis in Roussel, Dél. col. ath., 375; the est is correctly assigned to Sarapis on p. 61. The error was copied in Dinsmoor's , 290.

IX. Post-Sullan Dedications

Since we have as yet no detailed study of the Egyptian
under the Roman Empire as a whole, a systematic accou
developments in Athens would lack perspective. It ma
be amiss, however, to examine a few of the Athenian item

The Egyptian cults in Athens seem to have flourished again partic
in the second century A.D., but 20 preserved dedications suggest tha
were active throughout the period of Roman domination. The list l
proximate periods is: Middle of first century B.C.: IG, II², 3498, 37
4994. Augustan: 4697, 4732 (my datings by letter forms). Hadrianic:
(Graindor, Ath. s. Had., 161, n. 5), 4771, 4772. Doubtful, *s. I–II p.*:
3565. Middle of second century: 4068, 4070. End of second century:
Doubtful, *s. II–III p.*: 4815, 4818. Beginning of third century: 368
date given: 4871, 4872, 4873. Unpublished: one in the Agora collecti

IG, II², 4994, a large block of Hymettian marble now in the Askle
has never been carefully studied.[120] At present the stone lies on the lin
rear wall of the West Stoa, toward the west end of the building. As t
exact place of finding, Koumanoudes reported the stone as one of sev
τῶν περὶ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον τόπων (*Ἀθήναιον* 5, 1876, 323). So heavy a
would not have been carried far. The monument has peculiar cu
which can best be described in a forthcoming paper on cult tables and r
objects. The cuttings apparently throw no light on the cults involved.
will suffice to state here that the face is treated as though conceived
form of three conjoined statue bases. The inscriptions are placed as f

ΕΡΜΟΥ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΟΣ		ΝΥΜΦΩΝ		ΙΣΙΔΟΣ

There are slight differences in shape between the two phis and betw
the two deltas, but the technique shows that all five words were cut by
same hand. The isolated sigma is apparently by a different hand an
carelessly cut, presumably by a vandal. The other letters are fine w
they should date from the 40's or 30's B.C. The monument was there

[120] Judeich, Topographie², 321, n. has references.

as a whole: the various deities named were grouped together de-
. all at one time; and though Asklepios is not among them, the monu-
parently was set up in the Asklepieion.
the deities named except Isis are represented by dedications found
ar the south slope of the Acropolis: Hermes (IG, II², 4886), Aphrodite
Pan (4672), the Nymphs (4592, 4565); and a late dedication to
comes from the Asklepieion (4815). Within the group itself, omitting
s, relationships are closest between Hermes, Aphrodite, Pan, and the
s. A relief of ca. 400–350 B.C. found 'not far from the Acropolis' shows
Pan, and the Nymphs (IG, II², 4886). Pan and the Nymphs are
y associated in caves, as at Phyle (IG, II², 4827; note also 4875), and
a relief found in the Asklepieion was dedicated to them jointly (Pa-
lou, Guide Nat. Mus. d'Ath., 229 and pl. 15). Aphrodite was associated
n in the cave at Vari (AJA, 7, 1903, 332) — not prominently, and not
e in Attica; and in a statue from Delos (Lawrence, Later Gr. Scul.,
Whatever the inner meaning of the grouping may be, Hermes,
te, Pan, and the Nymphs had proved affinities for each other, affini-
ng back probably for centuries. Isis is the outsider.
ll be noted that whatever the purpose of the monument was, the first
iels are named for at least three deities each, whereas Isis is inscribed
the third panel: she is the principal diety named, and it is her pres-
hich chiefly requires explanation. Hermes was her teacher (areta-
om Andros, ed. W. Peek, Der Isishymnos von Andros, line 10 and
Aphrodite received dedications in the Sarapieia in Delos (Roussel,
nos. 12, 69; in nos. 161 and 162 she is Isis Aphrodite Dikaia; in
ria also she could be identified with Isis: Breccia, Rapport sur la
du service de musée d'Alexandrie en 1912, p. 38, n. 89); and IG, II²,
et up in the Asklepieion, dedicates a statue of Aphrodite to Isis
or, Ath. s. Had., 162). Pan had a bronze statuette in Sarapieion C
l, Cultes, 279). The foremost Nymph at Hermoupolis, according to
a (de Iside, ch. 3 = p. 352 B) was named both Isis and Dikaiosyne.
e of the links between the group as a whole and Asklepios have already
ted, but clearly it is Isis who, as the most important of the group,
be most closely related to Asklepios. Both Sarapis and Isis were
of healing (Brady, Reception, 12). As such they were connected with
os at Epidauros (IG, IV², 534 and 535; Pausanias 2, 27, 6); at Man-
G, V, 2, 269); at Boiai (S. Wide, Lakonische Kulte, 188 and n. 4, 265
1); Sarapieion C at Delos had dedications to Asklepios and Hygeia
l, Cultes, nos. 124, 204); Asklepios was in the Sarapieion at Memphis
Ptolemaic times (Wilcken, UPZ, 1, 34). For Athens we have a later
ose connection in IG, II², 4772 of ca. 120 A.D., which dedicates a statue
epios set up in a shrine which contained Isis among others (Graindor,
Had., 162); and two dedications, both involving Egyptian gods, were
n the Asklepieion (IG, II², 4772, 4815, see supra).

II², 4697: no deity except Isis may have been mentioned, since the
ter, unless it was alpha, lambda, or delta, ought to show.
II², 4732: a trace of a new letter in the name of the priest shows the
e restoration to be Μητρόδ[ωρος].
II², 4733: lines 2–3 restore [γυ|νή] in place of [θυγάτ|ηρ], which is
3.

X. Theophoric Names

If a dozen Athenian infants born ca. 300 B.C. had eac named Σαραπίων, we should have to infer that the cult of S had gained a foot-hold in Athens by that time. *If* a hu Athenian infants born ca. 273–263 B.C. had each been r from Sarapis, we should have to infer that the cult had b popular before the end of the Chremonidean war. Theo names would then have revealed precisely what might be k namely the period when the cult was introduced, and a p when it was popular.

The facts known at present are quite different. Actual first Σαραπίων known in Athens was born ca. 250, as w proved, and the next men of this name, a very few, were after 240 B.C. Only in the latter part of the second centur do we find many men named for Sarapis, and even the number is under 20. For Anoubis no Athenian was ever n for Harpokrates, only one; for Isis, under the Empire, ove These statistics, which are mostly new, are worthy of ful careful exploitation.[121]

The children of Athenian citizens were regularly n within ten days after birth,[122] and it is safe to assume th vast majority kept the names given them at that time.[123] ously the name of any given person necessarily reflec parents' interests, not his own,[124] and the date of his birth the date of his *floruit*, is what matters.

[121] For over a century theophoric names have been studied in connection with but these studies generally lack both scope and restraint. For an account of s work, see pp. 1–10 in the important dissertation by Ernst Sittig, De Graecorum nibus theophoris (Diss. Philol. Halenses, Vol. XX, pars I, 1911). The most r article on names generally is Fraenkel's, s.v. Namen in Realencyc. On Egyptian phoric names in Eretria, see Arch. Delt., 1, 1915, 166; in Thasos, BCH, 51, 229; in Thera, I. Braun, Theräische Kulte, 66.

[122] Whibley's Companion to Greek Studies[4], p. 593.

[123] The general regularity of names in *stemmata* in the prosopographies is suffic proof of this.

[124] Panofka (Sitz. Berl. Akad., 1839, 129; cf. 1840, 33) alleged that a man's own interests could be determined by his name. In the whole range of his studies, W. H Rouse (Greek Votive Offerings, 393) could find no evidence to support this; but Ro did not study the Hellenistic offerings. In the Hellenistic period, Panofka's theory a modicum of validity, if it be interpreted to mean that occasionally a man inheri

considerations which determined Athenian parents in hoice of names appear to have been various. Tradition- e name of a boy's grandfather, or of his father, or a e form of one of those names, was the natural choice. the second century B.C., this tradition was breaking as Ferguson observed,[125] and the name might reflect a cult nce,[126] or admiration for a famous man,[127] or even the in- of travel, trade, or politics.[128] Desire for a grandiose or unusual [129] name was sometimes present; but the op- tendency, namely to pick a name which was currently , was more prevalent.

all deities were equally eligible. To seek in cult the favors lepios was one thing; to name a child Ἀσκληπιόδωρος may been quite a different thing. A new cult especially might ory need many years before its deity was established in nds of the citizens sufficiently for them to feel that their n should receive the name of that deity. Again, deities ere ugly in form or unpleasant in function might perhaps provide names; such a god might be widely respected, is name would be of evil omen.[130] Names common

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wed a cult preference which his parents had expressed in the name they gave amples: two families using the names Ἀμμώνιος and Σαραπίων in several succes- erations: infra, p. 222, and NPA, 12; and Δίκαιος Δικαίου Ἰωνίδης, who wor- Ἶσις Ἀφροδίτη Δικαία, Roussel, Cultes, no. 160.

instances, however significant, are exceptions: note how few are the names yptian deities in Brady's prosopography (op. cit., 51–88, listing 1324 Greeks e interested in the Egyptian cults): Isis 15 names, Sarapis 13, Anoubis 0, ates 0.

ellenistic Athens, 423–424.

r stemmata which show this intrusion of foreign theophoric names, see NPA, 0, 85, 151. The intrusion in all of these cases occurs in the second century B.C. ellenistic Athens, 423–424.

ree daughters of Themistocles were Ἰταλία, Συβαρίς, and Ἀσία (Plut., Themis.,

ames from Poseidon, few and late, possibly were attractive because unusual, use of a cult preference.

neral, there seems to have been a constant tendency in all periods to find new The total number of Athenian names is considerable, and almost every new on with a list of any extent reveals new names (cf. Prytaneis, passim).

e desire for an unusual name might overcome this feeling, e.g. Ῥαδάμανθυς (Ἀντιοχίδος), (NPA, late second century B.C.), in one of the few families which me a son for Attis.

among slaves might be avoided by others; [131] doubtless to slaves themselves would like names common among free

In short, the figures on theophoric names should be exa with three principles in mind.[132] (1) The absence of names a given deity may not imply that the cult was absent o popular, but merely that the deity had associations su made a theophoric name unsuitable.[133] (2) A single insta a given theophoric name, or a very few instances, appe long before other instances of that name, indicate strong i est on the part of the families involved, but probably shoul be taken as evidence that the cult was established. (3) M instances of a given theophoric name in one limited p strongly suggest that the cult of the deity in question was popular; but the continued use of that name in succeedin erations is increasingly less significant.

The numbers of theophoric names in the successive in of IG have been counted by Sittig, and their relation t whole numbers of names may be computed: [134]

Period	Index of	Total No. of Names, ca.	Total No. of Theophoric Names (Sittig)	Percent
— 403/2	IG, I^2	2600	170+	6
403/2–30/29	IG, II^1	13000	2500	15.6
403/2–30/29	IG, II^1, 5	3000		
30/29 —	IG, III^1	12000	3600	30.0

Clearly there was a tendency toward an increasing use of t phoric names as time went on.

The figures on the names derived from the three Olym deities most used for theophoric names are listed in the table.

The reader will bear in mind that at this writing no index is available IG, II^2; and that J. Kirchner's P(rosopographia) A(ttica) and J. Sundw

[131] Names from Apollo: Sittig, 11.

[132] Thus it seems that Sittig, using his statistics mostly to try to determine country of origin of the various deities (e.g., p. 85, Dionysos), fastened upon a quest which, since the names are mostly late, his data do not positively answer.

[133] Among 1500 theophoric names from Phrygia, 233 of which derive from M there is none from Isis. The proper inference here is doubtless, as Sittig remark (p. 160), that the cult of Isis was weak or absent.

[134] In this and the next two tables, I have often used Sittig's figures without che ing them. Perfect accuracy in counts of names over 50 is difficult, and also pointle since many new names appear every year. In the case of the smaller numbers, and the last table, I have tried to be scrupulously accurate and up-to-date.

ige zur) P(rosopographia) A(ttica) include all *citizens*, and no others, rom any source down to 1910; they extend only to 30/29 B.C. Names ed since 1910 are to be had from J. J. E. Hondius, Novae Inscrip- tticae and Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, the indexes to I–VI and Prytaneis (Hesperia, Suppl. I, containing also many reviously known). Athenian citizens of the period of Augustus are the number of 530 by Graindor in Musée Belge, 27, 1923, 261–304 ated Aug.).

	IG, I²	IG, II¹, 5	PA NPA	IG, III¹	Aug.	Hesp.	Pryts.
lo	11	258	300	334	17	26	25
ysos	13	286	329	514 [135]	24	30	35
	55	546	366	258	18	10	31

able shows that the names of the Olympian deities con- to be used in Hellenistic and Roman times by both citi- nd non-citizens; also that discrimination was exercised, eing most popular in the period down to 30/29, and os under the Empire.[136]

next table shows the principal foreign deities, apart he Egyptian gods, introduced into Athens, if at all, in ical' times:

IG, I²	IG, II¹	PA + NPA	IG, III¹	Aug.	Hesperia, Prytaneis, etc.	DATES OF CITIZENS
1	0	0	1	0	0	
0	56	71	202	7	11	5 fourth century; 3 ca. 300; 8 third century; all others second century B.C. or later
2	8	3	1	0	0	
0	2	1	1	0	0	
0	2	1	40	0	1	1 daughter of a citizen ca. 100 B.C.; no other proved citizen until after 30 B.C. (cf. IG, II², 2347 and PA 12299)

ference to IG, III¹ shows that Sittig meant to print 514 on his p. 166; the cor- e appears on pp. 27 and 89.

e latter change probably began in the second century B.C. In NPA, which a large proportion of names from that century, the figures are Apollo 76, 84, Zeus 61. The clearest evidence of a considerable change, of the element ness and discrimination in giving names, and of the period when the change is given by

Names in	IG, I²	IG, II¹	IG, III¹
φροδ-	0	18	275
παφροδ-	0	1	108

no evidence that names from female deities were avoided in naming males. ly, in naming females, names from male deities were freely used. ew women in Athens were named for Sarapis.

	IG, I²	IG, II¹	PA + NPA	IG, III¹	Aug.	Hesperia, Prytaneis, etc.	DATES OF CITIZEN
Helios	0	20	35	45	6	4	
Men	0	24	48	116	7	11	3 late fifth century, the r third century B.C. or late
Meter	0	35	37	63	0	3	1 late sixth, 1 fifth, 1 fourth, late third century B.C. or
Mithras	0	1	0	4	0	0	

Adonis: no known citizen was named for Adonis.

Asklepios: no known Greek anywhere was named for Asklepios before the fou tury B.C. (Sittig, 124). On the cult in Hellenistic Athens, see especially Fe Hellenistic Athens, 221.

Attis: one citizen of the fifth century, two of the late second century B.C.

Bendis: Βενδιφάνης σκαφη[ποιός?] was enfranchised after Phyle (IG, II², 10 = 14 = SEG, III, 70). No one born a citizen was named for Bendis.

Eros: cult in Athens in fifth century, Broneer, Hesperia, 1, 1932, 49–55; 4, 19

Helios: names from Helios should probably be classed with names from riv which Sittig, 127).

Meter: the one early name refers doubtless to the Great Mother, on whose c cult place see H. A. Thompson, Hesperia 6, 1937, 203 ff. Cybele and her or account for most of the later names, but no one in Athens is known to ha named for Cybele.

Men: cf. N. Papadakis, Arch. Delt. I, 1915, 156. It seems doubtful whet early names attest an early cult of Men the Tyrant, rather than the same i in respect to the moon, which names in Helio- attest in respect to the sun.

Mithras: no citizen's name directly from this deity; in Roman times three were named Mithradates, of course for the king of that name. Dedicat Athens: IG, II², 3794, a bust of Chrysippos, and IG, II²,5011, τῷ Ἡλίῳ | τ

For our present purposes, the data on Asklepios, Attis, and Meter are especially interesting. The story is the sa each case: a very few names before the late third ce then, except for Attis, a comparatively large number i later Hellenistic period, and many more in the Roman pe The few early names clearly reflect the enthusiasms of a few people, and could hardly by themselves prove that the were flourishing.[137] The larger numbers of later names ap only after the cults have been established for some time, at a time when conservatism in names has weakened. T Hellenistic names probably reflect a measure of real popula enjoyed by the foreign gods. The Roman names may be so

[137] The oldest 'Egyptian' name outside Egypt is from Thasos (Νεῖλις Τιμοξένο period of Persian Wars); two others appear in the fourth century: soon after 40 Κάνωβος and ca. 350 a name spelled ΙΣΑΓΟΝΟΣ. This evidence is pressed hard b Seyrig (BCH, 51, 1927, 229). Sittig gives only 8 names from Isis among 650 theoph names in Thasos.

ss significant, but the data on Dionysos and Zeus show
e figures still have some meaning.

the above setting, the figures for the Egyptian gods
be fitted:

	IG, I²	IG¹, II	IG¹, III	PA NPA	Aug.	Hesperia, Prytaneis, etc.
non.....	0	7	14	19	2	1
pokrates....	0	0	2	0	0	0
.....	0	23	301	23 (+ 8?)	7	17
ipis	0	8	48	11 (+ 8?)	2	0

Horus, Osiris: none.

Kasios: none. Aigyptia: one non-citizen of '*med. s. IV a.*' (IG, II², 4584, r]*ία*); one freedwoman, IG, II², 1567 of ca. 330 B.C.

non-citizens (one third century B.C., one Empire; also, reading doubtful, *ονείλες Ἐμμενίδο ἐκ* K[- - - -] in IG, I², 556).

gures from PA–NPA twice involve names which have no demotics. all (or none) of these may be identical with some of those of whom otics are preserved. Hence the figures in parentheses. The figures in nn headed *Hesperia* include only men not already known.

okrates: one is a citizen.

the first occurrence is *Διόδωρος Ἰσιγένους Ῥαμνούσιος*, a s (?) of ca. 325 B.C.[138] *Ἰσιγένης* was born, therefore, ca. fifth or early fourth century. The other known names is date from the second century B.C. or later.[139]

pis:[140] The earliest known occurrence in Athens of a erived from Sarapis is the name of the father of a priest honored in IG, II², 820. This inscription has hitherto ated by its lettering in the early or middle part of the entury B.C., so that the father, *Σαραπίων*, must have re- his name in the late fourth century. This is unlikely if possible. Actually the lettering is characteristic of the id 170's B.C., and in fact the same hand inscribed IG, II², nich was passed in, or soon after, 176/5. The name of est honored in IG, II², 820 appears in the accusative as

II², 1927, lines 148–150. The stone itself is lost; it was read only by Chandler, e 15 proved errors in reading it (cf. Hesperia 3, 1934, 188), but his reading in nce may be accepted. On the subject of this list, A. W. Gomme, Population , 70; Körte, Gnomon, 8, 1932, 299.

ess the grave monument IG, II¹, 2585, which I have not seen, is earlier; ly it is identical with IG III¹ 2044. — For some dated Egyptian theophoric the Hadrianic period, Graindor, Ath. s. Had., 165, n. 5.

hography: *Σεραπ-* is not known before ca. 100 B.C. In Delos only *Σαραπ-* ap- imes in Athens: *Σαραπιάς*, *Σαραπίων* (much the most common), *Φιλοσέραπις* pire only), *Σεραπᾶς*, *Σεραπιός*, *Σεραπιακός*.

[- - - - -]ν Σαραπίωνος Πα[- - - -]. Since the son flourishe
the 170's, his father Σαραπίων was born about the middle c
third century.

Roussel had restored the name in IG, II², 820 thus:
μώνιο]ν Σαραπίωνος Παμ[βωτάδην].[141] The following stemma s
the relationship of this person to the other members of a
family:[142]

Σαραπίων (I)
Born ca. middle III cent. B.C. (IG, II², 820)

'Αμμώνιος (I)
Priest of [_ ca. 18½ _], ca. 170's B.C. (IG, II², 820)

'Αμμώνιος (II)*
ἐγγυητής in Delos in 157/6 (Inscr. de Dél., 1416, B, II, ll. 88–89); gymnasiarch in Delos in 155/4 (Dinsmoor Archons, 232)

Σαραπίων (II)*
Borrowed from sacred funds in De
157/6 (Inscr. de Dél., 1416, B,
71–72);
Priest in Delos in 153/2 (BC
1909, 426); τύπιον in Isidieio
scribed with his name (Inscr.
1452, A, l. 40)

'Αμμώνιος (III? or identical with II?)
(BCH, 5, 1881, 463)

'Αμμώνιος (IV)
Priest of Apollo in Delos in 103/2 (IG, II², 2336, l. 40); statue of him as pr
Apollo, set up by Athenians, Romans, and the other Greeks in Delos (BCH, 5,
463 = Loewy, Inschr. gr. Bildh., no. 251)

* Note also the two priests of Sarapis in Delos, 166/5–157/6 B.C., Σαραπίω
'Αμμώνιος (Roussel, Cultes, table opposite p. 272); but cf. NPA, p. 12, two conte
raries of the same names in a notable family from Anaphlystos.

[141] Délos col. ath., 37. Roussel included the mu of Παμβωτάδην within the brack
but the stone preserves a small trace of this crucial letter.

Study of the whole inscription shows that the lettering is fairly regular, and t
lines can be restored with close to 39 letters each (counting iotas as half-letter
Neither side is preserved: the disregard of syllabification in IG² is unwarranted. Th
title of the priest, including the article(s), should contain close to 18½ letters; τοῦ 'Ασκλ
πιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄστει, which has 21, appears to be excluded. Lines 13–16: [καὶ στήσα
αὐτ]ὴν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι [_ ca. 27 _]αι τὴν στήλην [_ ca. 19 _ τὸ δὲ γενόμ]ενον ἀ[ρ
λωμα, κτλ.].

[142] Cf. the other family, NPA, p. 12, which used these names. The explanation
granted a decision to use Egyptian names, is possibly that to those who used names from
Sarapis, names from Ammon alone were available. On this point, however, the data fa

ıe other men named from Sarapis, two [143] were born in
le third century B.C., the others in the second or later.[144]
n names derived from Sarapis and Isis therefore follow
ronological pattern already observed in connection with
oreign deities. The one early instance, Isigenes of Rham-
doubtless signifies a lively cult preference on the part of
ıily, and is much more significant than any one similar
ınder the Empire. No wider inference should be drawn.
complete absence of names from Anoubis shows clearly
e was not regarded as a suitable source for theophoric
. Harpokrates was merely not popular.

re was doubtless no legal bar to names from Isis in the
century, or to names from Sarapis and Isis in the third
y B.C. The absence of these names down to ca. 240, apart
ne Sarapion and one Isigenes, doubtless shows that the
ian cults, whatever their status (if any), were not as
ır as the cult, for instance, of Asklepios (third table).
gures for Sarapis are comparable in number with those
κχος and Ποσειδῶν, which alone of the deities tabulated by
(166–167) have as few. The break-down of conservatism
nes in the second century B.C., which we have often
d, did not result at that time in many names derived
ither Sarapis or Isis. Only under the Empire are names
either deity common, and then it is Isis who received by
e more. Her total in that period is exceeded only by
) (334), Aphrodite (if names in Ἐπαφροδ- be included, 383),
Dionysos (514). In the earlier period, only names in Διο-

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a curious fact that, apart from the family of Pambotadai, no 'Egyptian' name
e Athenian records now known is associated with a patronymic derived from
ıe of a different Egyptian deity. Thus e.g. we have Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος, but
αραπίων Ἰσιδώρου.

) Σαραπίων, who was one of the 'third' mint magistrates in 176/5 B.C. (Sund-
ıtersuchungen über die attischen Münzen, 15). Holders of this position were
y Areopagites (Sundwall, op. cit., 69). If so, Sarapion may have been born
as ca. 240 B.C. (2) Σαραπίων Ἀναφλύστιος, father of Δημήτριος. The latter was
ολος ca. 130 B.C. (NPA); his father, Sarapion, was probably born nearer 200
0 B.C.

nless the grave monuments IG, II¹, 2418 and 2326, which I have not seen, are
ated earlier. The Salaminian of IG, II¹, 3294 may well be of Roman times:
ν Σεραπίωνος Σαλαμίνιος: cf. supra, p. 221, n. 140.

(546) surpass the 300 mark. Outside Athens no deity in period attained 300.[145] We have seen (first table) that a ance must be made for the greater proportion of theop names in Athens under the Empire. It should also be rer bered that the total number of known theophoric names, of known names generally, is far greater in Athens than in other region of Greece.[147] Furthermore, Sittig's figures of are used for other deities; those for Isis have been brough to date. The total of ca. 350 for Isis in Athens is neverth impressive. In all other Greek areas combined, Sittig's t shows a total for Isis, again taking all periods together, of 153.[148]

XI. Festivals

IG, II², 1367, lines 4–6

Βοηδρομιῶνος ΓΙ Νέφθυϊ καὶ Ὀσίριδ[ι]
ἀλεκτρυόνα καρπώσεις σπείρων πυρο[ὺς]
καὶ κρειθάς, σπένδων μελίκρατον.

The only Egyptian festival epigraphically attested in At appears in the sacrificial calendar of some γένος, or per some other society concerned with cult, IG, II², 1367 of H anic date. The gods are Nephthys, otherwise unknown ou Egypt, and her brother Osiris, whom she tried to resuscita the Osiris-drama. Rusch (De Serapide, 10) connected the in 1367, Boedromion 13, with a statement by Plutarch Iside, 365 C) that Osiris was killed on Athyr 17. Graindor shown that this connection and the inferences drawn fro are dubious (Ath. s. Had., 158).

The only other likely mention of an Egyptian festival Athens is in Hesychius: Χαρμόσυνα· ἑορταὶ Ἀθήνησιν. Deubn

[145] Taking all periods together, in Phrygia Apollo has 296 and Men has 233. Th are the only figures over 200 outside Athens.

[146] First table; the largest figures outside Athens are Boeotia 1500, Ionia 11 Phrygia 1500, Pergamum 1230; no others over 1000. Total of theophoric names ou side Athens, all periods, 12,860; in Athens, 6270.

[147] The total number of known names from Athens is over 35,000; of citizens onl over 20,000.

[148] Among the various regions, Thessaly has most with 24, Boeotia is next with 1 Naxos and Priene are third with 11 each.

ıttention to two festivals of Isis each called Χαρμόσυνα, Kios (Bithynia) and one in Tomi (Attische Feste, 223 s.), but he did not suggest a date. For Egypt Char- a are attested thrice by papyri, which fix the Egyptian the festival, which there lasted eight days, on Phaophi What the festival celebrated, in Egypt, Athens, and ere, remains obscure (Bilabel, Neue Heidelberger Jahr-, 1929, 34, with references).

Egyptian festivals and mysteries outside Egypt, Nock, Conversion, nentions a festival of Sarapis in April on Naxos, on April 25 in Rome. ing was made in Athens to Ammon in Hekatombaion (IG, II², 1496, It is not unlikely that eventually there were several Egyptian fes- s well as several shrines (p. 230, n. 156), and several priests (IG, II², n early Roman times there was a kanephoros of Sarapis (IG, II², 3498) anephoros of Isis (IG, II², 3727); later one girl could combine the , II², 3565). The office of kanephoros implies leading a pompe (Deub- te, 25). Hence there were apparently festivals of both Sarapis and

XII. Sculpture in Athens

olossal Foot (Fig. 3) of Pentelic marble, now in Athens, s to have some close association with Sarapis. The , or rather shoe with the toes left bare, is represented as ately decorated. In low relief on the outer side of the ppears Anoubis, jackal-headed, a palm branch on one on the other side of the heel, Harpokrates, one hand to outh, the other holding a cornucopia; between Anoubis arpokrates, a crocodile; on the tongue of the sandal, low relief, a small Cerberus. A serpent, shown in the climbs the leg on the inner side.

scale of the foot is between two and three times life size, is suitable for a cult statue — an identification which r study may alter. The type of shoe is a favorite in the ellenistic period and later.[149] The sculptural style and que, which are not distinguished, at first glance (only a inary study of the foot has been made) suggest the same s.[150]

rs. Mary Barton Wallace (letter), from study of photographs.

s yet I have not found any publication or any record whatever of the foot, hope may be published in an archaeological journal in 1939.

ered in various collections there are several representations of the foot of Sara-

The Pittakys Relief. After recounting the discovery of the dedica[tory] scription IG, II², 4692 (supra, p. 198), Pittakys describes a large relie[f] he says he found in the same chapel. This statement by Pittakys, [if] potentially relevant, has apparently been overlooked in accounts of the [Egyp]tian cults. I have not been able to search for the object in Athens. '[The] lief, broken into three pieces, was apparently complete. The subject [is a] bull, and Pittakys claimed that the inscription (IG, II², 4692) and th[e] Apis of course, together established the site of the Sarapieion. W[e] noted that the inscription was said by Kochler to have been 'in arce,' a[nd] suspicion arises that Pittakys falsified the evidence at least to the ex[tent] bringing two separately discovered items together into one alleged p[ro] finding. It may be suspected that Pittakys found no relief of a bull; n[or] one be sure that the relief, if real, had anything to do with Apis.

Pittakys refers to the relief in discussing his no. 1891 (p. 1023) a[nd] 2247 (p. 1166); the latter is a small inscribed relief with a bull, accord[ing] Pittakys, who adds further topographical details. — Rangabé, Ant[.] Helléniques, II (1855), no. 2361, p. 1014, mentions the former repo[rt] implies that he has not seen the relief.

Statues of Karyatids. Near the old Metropolitan church were fou[nd] headless draped female statues which appear to have been attached t[o] behind. Bulle connected them with a series of similar statues elsew[here] type with a kalathos on the head, used as karyatids. He conjectured [pro]bly that the Athenian statues represent kanephoroi of Sarapis and co[me] the Sarapieion (Röm. Mitt., 9, 1894, 149, 154, with photographs).

Relief of Isis Dikaiosyne on IG, II², 4702 (cf. p. 198). Only the lowe[r] 0.025 m. high, is preserved. In the centre, what seem to be many [folds] the robe presumably of Isis Dikaiosyne, who must stand, since the [base] too shallow (0.005 m.) to allow her to sit; left, lowest mouldings of a[n] right, mostly broken away, restore a worshipper. The image of Isis m[ay] produce the cult statue.

Isis on Coins. First, a dubious identification. Fully and elaborately dr[essed] her proper head-dress; holds wheat in right hand, left grasps tall sta[ff] near the top. This figure appears in Beulé, Monnaies, 248, from a co[in] Paris of the series Demeas-Kallikratides; B. V. Head, Historia Numo[rum] 385, and B. Pick in J. N. Svoronos, Trésor, p. XII, both accept the identi[fica]tion as a symbol representing Isis in this series. Photographs of two of coins, somewhat worn, of the same series (Svoronos, op. cit., pl. 71, nos. 14) show a figure apparently nude and male. The staff (or spear, scep[tre]

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pis which terminate at the ankle in heads, busts or complete miniature figures of [the] god. The Athens foot may possibly have been one of this series, and obviously [the] whole series and the Athens foot should be studied together. In the Révue de l'histo[ire] des Religions, 68, 1913, 69 n. 1, A. Reinach announced a study to be called 'Le P[ied] de Sarapis.' He requested his readers to send him information on the various feet [of] Sarapis; but he died evidently before the article could be completed. I venture to r[e]peat his request, the more urgently since I can less easily visit European museums. [The address is Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass.] O. Weinreich's list (Ath. Mitt. 37, 1912, 37, n. 1; cf. his Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis-Religion, 7 n. 7) has been helpful for a beginning.

is present; the object in the right hand is obscure; there is a tall
s. M. Kambanis has rightly queried the identification as Isis
, 1934, 126). The coin in Paris particularly needs to be re-examined.
certainly Isis: fully draped figure, the drapery falling in diagonal
id-dress of medium height, details not clear; in right hand, lotus (?);
hangs close to drapery, the object held, if any, being obscure. Series
os-Demetrios (Svoronos, Trésor, pl. 70, nos. 15–19). If this figure
s an actual Athenian statue, the original can have been rendered
.

alathos of Sarapis. Funerary statues in which the deceased, 'hero-
ars a kalathos of Sarapis should be included for completeness:
Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, 75
no. 22 (Ravaisson, Gazette Archéologique, 1, 55; Comptes Rendus
scrs., 1906, 75 n. 1); ibid., 244, no. 105.

Statues with the Knot of Isis. Funerary statues of women in the
eriod often show the outer garment gathered in front in a character-
., a symbol apparently that the deceased had been devotees of Isis.
ade no special study of these. The statues: A. Conze et al., Attische
fs, IV, nos. 1954–1972, 2139–2145 (?). The inscriptions: IG, III¹,
7, 1740, 1752, 1760, 1898 Add. p. 302, 2012, 2076, 2184, 2199, 2723,
scussion: Graindor, Ath. de Tib. à Traj. 203, n. 2; Ath. s. Had.,
ongest series of the statues is said to be Hadrianic in date).

gyptianizing Statue from Probalinthos. Statue of an unidentified
ptian in style and attributes; Pentelic marble; period of Hadrian
r, Hérode Atticus, 188).

Statuettes from Egypt. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca: 'Horus (Harpo-
bronze, from the Acropolis at Athens, dyn. XXVI (p. 78, no. 159, and
Isis, from Geometric grave at Eleusis, dyn. XXII–XX (p. 80, no.
iris, from Sounion, ante-middle sixth century (p. 83, no. 187). All of
e doubtless little more than mere souvenirs, tokens of awe for things
, and not implying cult.

blished. Lead tokens with images of Sarapis: Numismatic Museum,
Various small objects: Agora Excavations.

XIII. Summary

before Sarapis was created, the Athenian Demos
l to certain Egyptians permission to own land and to
iereon a shrine to Isis. The site was probably in Piraeus;
o trace of it has come to light, but metics would doubt-
tenacious of such a possession, so that Isis was probably
oped in Athens when Sarapis arrived. Sarapis is first
to us in Athens from a decree of Sarapiastai, an organized
of devotees. The date of this decree was formerly
t to be as early as ca. 273 B.C., in any case not later than

the middle of the century; and the Sarapiastai were look upon as a proof of Ptolemy II's insinuating diplomacy, whi (according to the theory) employed religion as well as gol The actual date of the decree is 215/4 B.C. The society h plainly been functioning for at least a few years. Now in c 226/5–222/1 B.C. the Athenian Demos was vigorously e pressing a benevolent attitude toward Ptolemy III. Part this campaign of good will *may* have consisted in encouragi the foundation of the society of Sarapiastai.

Theories which hold that the Sarapiastai were in some sen pawns in the game of Ptolemaic diplomacy rest on the assum tion that at least the officers of the society were citizens. now appears, on the contrary, that they were metics or slav Ptolemy would hardly be impressed by being told that Athe had permitted a club of immigrants to worship Sarapis. T granting of this privilege was doubtless felt, in Athens, to b serious act in regard to Athens; but in regard to Ptolemy, was trivial compared to the creation (ca. 226/5–222/1 B.C.) the festival Ptolemaia, the tribe Ptolemais, and the deme Be nikidai. It is therefore preferable to connect the Sarapias rather with the lively activity in societies of all kinds duri the second half of the third century, particularly in the gene tion flourishing ca. 215.[151]

Turning now to the Athenian citizens themselves, we find a few families the beginnings of popular interest. Isigenes Rhamnous was born in the late fifth century, Sarapion Pambotade about the middle of the third. Such names, befo the second century B.C., represent in each case a definite bre with solid old traditions of personal (i.e. family) nomenclatur The charge against Socrates shows that the Athenians general looked askance at gods which had not been formally adopte

[151] A parallel case may be that of the Mother of the Gods, Cybele of Pessinus, wh celebrants were already organized in the year of Lysitheides (IG, II², 1316). Wh this archon was dated late in the century, the group of orgeones in the Piraeus, wh organization was counted as a formal reception, was naturally connected with Attalo and placed ca. 220 (Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, 223). Lysitheides, however, was su sequently dated on good evidence ca. 245/4 (Dinsmoor, Archons, 181; Meritt, H peria, 4, 1935, 585; Dow, AJA, 40, 1936, 65–70). We know also that the Mother h thiasotai in Piraeus in 295/4 (IG, II², 1273, dated by Dinsmoor, Archons, 67).

Activity in societies ca. 215 B.C.: Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, 220.

the city. Children were not named for Asklepios until some rs after the cult was established; but the names do occur he fourth and third centuries. If we had only the names to ge by, we should infer that Athens did adopt Asklepios, but should date the event almost a half century too late. Quite sibly therefore the two Egyptian names indicate previous ption by Athens of the cults.

The first preserved dedication, however, a dedication which ests previous adoption of the cult by Athens, should now be igned to the early second century B.C. The question is refore just how much earlier than 200 B.C. the evidence ows us safely to recede. A second Sarapion was born prob- y as early as 230; a third perhaps soon before 200; and the eree of the Sarapiastai may have mentioned a public (?) apieion existing in 215/4. In deference to this slender evi- nce, we may suggest as the most likely period the generation ich came to power in the years following the liberation from cedon (spring 229 B.C.).[152]

This dating raises again the question of international diplo- cy, but in a different form. Official Athenian adoption, *if* it ld be dated to ca. 226/5–222/1, would undoubtedly suggest lomatic motives. Once more caution is needed, since olemy III died in 221 B.C., and his successor Ptolemy IV 1–203) was markedly partial to the cult not of Sarapis but Dionysos.[153] If a Ptolemy could himself publicly favor, ove all others, a cult not of Sarapis, then whatever backing lier Ptolemies had given Sarapis outside Egypt was being, already had been, withdrawn. Such facts as have emerged ently, moreover, have shown that theories of *propagandist- he Tätigkeit* for Sarapis outside Egypt even by the earlier olemies must be modified.[154]

[152] The extreme possible limits are ca. 280–ca. 180 B.C. Hitherto the best attempt ix a date gave middle second century B.C. (Brady, op. cit., p. 42).
The society of Sarapiastai as such throws no light on the date of the public adop- , since the society could go on existing, like those of Bendis in Attica and like the apiastai in Delos, after the public adoption.

[153] E. Bevan, Hist. Eg., 233.

[154] Nock, Conversion, 55. The Delians made the cult of Sarapis public in their nd early in the second century, ca. 190–180, certainly after 200 B.C. No Ptolemaic uence has been detected (Roussel, Cultes, 252, 256).

Isis was probably adopted along with Sarapis; the pries
Sarapis was to serve both cults, and eventually, if not at o
a cult statue of her must have stood in the Sarapieion.

In the late third century B.C., conventions regarding
worship of foreign gods began to break down; women t
part with men, Athenians with metics, in strange cults.
business of administering Delos gave many upper-class A
nians closer contact than they had had in Athens with for
ways and worships. This experience hastened the cha
already in progress, as the increasingly greater freedom in
sonal nomenclature shows. It was not until ca. 135/4, h
ever, that these forces resulted in action by the city of At
with regard to the Egyptian cults in Delos. At that time, a
some thirty years of merely controlling the cults, the Athe
Demos proceeded to enlarge first the equipment, then the
sonnel. If the Athenians were thus enthusiastic about the c
in Delos, for which the records are ample, they probably
played the same attitude at home, at the same time.[155] At
rate the coin symbols and dedications of ca. 100 B.C. f
Athens suggest a previous development exactly parallel to
of Delos. This means, as the scant records actually sug
participation by the 'best families.' It means numerous
tives, though not as many dedications by foreigners as in D
It means new buildings and new precincts.[156] It means
Anoubis is more prominent than he had been earlier, that
pokrates is recognized, though as the last and least of the gr
and doubtless that other gods are included among the
ἐντεμένιοι, just as Sarapis and Isis might themselves be
shipped in the precincts of other gods.[157]

[155] It is notable that this was a period of definite ill-will toward the Ptolemies.
Ptolemaia, which flourished in Athens from ca. 222/1 until ca. 150, were the
pended until ca. 103/2 (Ferguson, Klio, 8, 1908, 338, 344).

[156] The only precincts which are positively known to have existed are: (1) T
Iseion in Piraeus. (2) The Sarapieion in Athens seen by Pausanias (and restora
IG, II², 1292). Doubtless there were others; at Corinth, Pausanias saw four
way to Acrocorinth (2, 4, 6). The temple of Herodes Atticus at Marathon, for ins
may have been built in an Egyptian precinct already existing. Cf. also IG, II², 477
Graindor, Ath. s. Had., 160.

[157] Isis and Sarapis in the Asklepieion, supra, p. 215; at Eleusis (IG, II²,)
Though they were to some extent deities of healing, no trace of Sarapis and Is

ırlier Athenian playwrights had laughed at Egyptian zo-
y;[158] now, in Athens as well as in Delos,[159] Anoubis has a
ıl (or donkey) head. In both places this unattractive coun-
ırt of Hermes Psychopompos was rarely singled out for
ıidual offerings,[160] never for personal names.

rapis, nominally the head of the Egyptian deities, was
r very popular, whether we judge by dedications or by
ɔnal names; he was artificially synthetic in origin, he had
ections with the underworld, his images, beginning with
gray-blue and gold prototype in Alexandria by Bryaxis,
ɔdied a somewhat inhuman majesty, remote and awful;
ɔerus crouched by his throne.

ke the female deity in other pairs of Oriental gods, Isis
ed to be better suited to religious needs than her partner.
can affirm that her predominance was established by the
nd half of the second century B.C. in both Athens and Delos.
bols on coins, dedications to Isis alone,[161] dedications nam-
her before Sarapis, even oaths,[162] agree in illustrating the
erence for the gracious goddess who saved mortals from
sical and spiritual shipwreck.[163]

nder the Roman Empire, Horos, Osiris, and Nephthys ap-
among the Egyptian gods in Athens; the cult of Sarapis
inues; and Isis out-distances not merely her partner, but
ɔther 'foreign' gods as well. To judge by the names, Isis
more popular than any deity in Athens, barring Dionysos
e. Especially in view of her attractive spiritual aspects,
vogue of Isis in the great city of intellectuals might take
he proportions of a major fact in the history of western

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found in the Amphiareion at Oropos, where Ammon is known, though only from
I², 337.

G. Lafaye, Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie, Paris, 1884, 32 and refs.
ɛs geuerally disliked animal gods: Cumont, Religions orientales, 73, and n. 11.

Roussel, Cultes, 32, 276.

Four exist in Delos.

On Delos 24; in Athens 6.

Lafaye, op. cit., 31, n. 5 (Philemon); also Diodorus, 1, 29 (34).

Isis and her many names in Delos, Roussel, Cultes, 276. Her full list of names in
ɔt, the extraordinary Oxy. P. 1380. Her spiritual aspects, Nock, Conversion, 38,

It is doubtful whether the popularity of Isis was due to women (supra, pp. 194,
; but cf. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization², 323.

religions. Two facts warn the student that the numerous
dores were not sufficiently earnest or influential to be abl
establish the Egyptian cults in a place of formal prestige.
first is that the temple of Sarapis seen by Pausanias was
dently not grand. The second is that the Roman Empe
many of whom adorned Athens with costly buildings, did n
ing, so far as we know, for the Egyptian gods.[164] It app
that even after they had been worshipped in Athens for
a millennium, Isis and all the other foreign deities, except As
pios, remained metics as it were among the gods. The ins
tions on the theater seats show that the newcomers, fo
their spiritual powers, did not capture any one of 54 posit
of dignity.

[164] Most significant, if it could be made absolutely certain, would be the abse
any priest of Sarapis or Isis from the front row of seats in the theater. There w
seats in the front row, and we know the inscriptions of all but 13. Since no priest
non-native, non-political god (e.g. Magna Mater) except Asklepios appears in th
served inscriptions of the front row, it is unlikely that the priest of Sarapis fo
place there. Nor does any of the poros seats bear his title.

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES — A RE-EXAMINATION

ROBERT LEE WOLFF
Harvard University

legend of Barlaam and Ioasaph, one of the most popular influential of medieval romances, entered the western world ray of a Greek version, which fathered, directly or indirectly, slations into almost every European language, and inspired ntire cycle of literary influences. This Greek version was f descended from a long line of Asiatic redactions, harking k through Georgian and Arabic to Pehlevi and to the San- t prototype (now lost). Thus the Greek version occupies, o speak, a focal position. It is at once the source of the opean, and the culmination of the Asiatic, traditions. Its , Prince Ioasaph, can look backward to his earliest incarna- as the Buddha of the *Lalita Vistara*, and forward to his st — as a saint of Rome and Byzantium; while many of the s told him by the monk Barlaam to convert him to Chris- ity change little on their long journey from some such work he *Pantchatantra*, via the Greek *Barlaam*, to the *Exempla* of ques de Vitry, or the *Gesta Romanorum*.[1]

[1] This paper is a portion of a longer essay, entitled Barlaam and Ioasaph, The sis of the Greek Version.

The Greek, first printed by Boissonade in Anecdota Graeca, 1832, is now most con- ntly available in a volume of the Loeb Classical Library (ed. G. R. Woodward and Mattingly, New York, Macmillan, 1914). Karl Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzan- chen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches, 2nd ed., chen, 1897, pp. 889–91, gives a very full bibliography up to that year. Especially l for the elucidation of the points made in this paragraph are: Eugen Braunholtz, Erste Nichtchristliche Parabel des Barlaam und Josaphat, ihre Herkunft und Ver- ung, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1884; Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Baralam and Yewasef, the Ethiopic version of a Christianized Recension of the Buddha and the Bodhi- va, Cambridge University Press, 1923; Emanuel Cosquin, La Légende de Saints aam et Josaphat, reprinted from Révue des Questions Historiques, October 1880, in les Folkloriques: Recherches sur les Migrations des Contes Populaires, Paris, mpion, 1922, pp. 27–40; T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka s, London, Trübner and Co., 1880; Joseph Jacobs, Barlaam and Josaphat, English s of Buddha, London, David Nutt, 1896; and F. Max Müller, On the Migration ables, in Chips from a German Workshop, vol. IV, pp. 138 ff., New York, Scribner, strong and Co., 1876.

The name Ioasaph is derived from the epithet Bodhisattva, the technical title of a

Through long years of controversy, scholars have variou ascribed this Greek *Barlaam* to three different authors: to John of Damascus (c. 676–749), the great Greek church fath to some even earlier anonymous author, supposed to h flourished about 600; and to St. Euthymius (d. 1028), Athonite monk of the monastery of St. Athanasius, and l higumen of Iviron. This last attribution has recently b made certain by Father Paul Peeters. Father Peeters dem strates that Euthymius used as his basis a Georgian redact of the tale, which is still extant; and he thus quietly dispo of the hypothetical Syriac version, evolved by scholars bridge the gap between the Arabic and Greek versions.[2]

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man destined to attain the dignity of a buddha. Bodhisattva becomes in Arabic B saph; Arabic B (ب) and Y (ي) differ only by a single diacritical point; and Boda thus by a misreading becomes Iodasaph in Georgian, and Ioasaph in Greek — turned by Western Europeans into the more familiar Josaphat or Jehoshaphat.

[2] The ascription to John of Damascus is based on late manuscript tradition. W ward and Mattingly are the last to maintain it, despite the seemingly conclusive re tion (with false conclusions, however) of Hermann Zotenberg, Notice sur le Liv Barlaam et Josaphat, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1886. Jacobs, op. cit., and K bacher, op. cit., agree with Zotenberg, who advances the theory of an unknown a of about the year 600; and so especially does E. W. A. Kuhn, whose work o subject (Barlaam und Joasaph, Eine Bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Stud Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Klasse der Königlich Bayeris Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, vol. 20 (1894), pp. 1–87 has until rec been accepted as definitive.

The theory that Euthymius was the author was first advanced by Baron v. R the Russian Arabist, in Zapiski Vostočnago Otdelenija Imperatorskago Russ Archaeologičeskago obsčestva, II, 1887, 166–74 (Kuhn, op. cit., p. 9). Rosen base suggestion upon certain manuscript titles, and called attention to a reference in a gian life of Euthymius, which ascribes to him the translation of 'Balavari'— the Bar story. This life, written by Euthymius' relative and successor, Saint George the l orite, is now available in a Latin translation by Father Paul Peeters: Vies des Jean et Euthyme, in Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes, extract from Analecta landiana, Vol. XXXVI–XXXVII, Bruxelles, 1923. The Balavar reference appea p. 15: Balahvarum . . . ex hiberico Sermone in Graecum convertit.

Peeters' definitive article, which proves that Euthymius and no other wrote Greek Barlaam, using a Georgian model, is entitled La Première Traduction Latin Barlaam et Joasaph et son Original Grec (Analecta Bollandiana, vol. XLIX, 1931 276–312). N. Marr had made a partial edition of the Georgian version — Mud Balavari, 1888, and returned to the subject in Agiographiceski Materiali, vol. XI Zapiski Vostocnago otdelenija, 1901, pp. 89–103. He was the first to recognize its portance, and he and Rosen were convinced by the evidence already at hand Euthymius was the author of the Greek version. To this evidence Peeters adds th a hitherto unknown Latin translation preserved in a manuscript at Naples, and

he life of St. Euthymius composed by his successor, St. rge, also deals with the career of Euthymius' father, St. n. This is natural, since father and son, strangely enough ught together by chance in a monastic environment, occupy mportant position in the history of Georgian theological ature.[3] Euthymius (the Georgian form of the name is 'yme), John's youngest son, was taken when a child to stantinople as a hostage. His father, a Georgian noble, who left his family in order to become a monk, had moved to the at ascetic centre of Mt. Olympus in Bithynia,' from which xercised his influence, and succeeded in securing the release uthymius, whom he then educated according to the best dards of the day. Euthymius' own first tongue was Greek, he later became proficient in Georgian as well. Father and were on Olympus during the years 975–7, and it was there Euthymius began his translations from Greek to Georgian.[4] he two moved to Athos, where Euthymius became καθηγητής he monastery of St. Athanasius, and later higumen of the ra of Iviron, which his father had been instrumental in nding. John died in 998. This event seems to mark the end he period when Euthymius' activity in hermeneutics was ntest. 'Official duties robbed him of most of his leisure for

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tain other new Georgian sources. With these materials he fashions, in a narrative teresting as many a detective story, an unshakable case for the authorship of ymius.

e accepts the statement of these sources that Euthymius 'translated' the story the Georgian; and proves that his model could have been in no other language. he established the pedigree: Sanskrit — Pehlevi — Arabic — Georgian — Greek.

The information in the succeeding paragraphs comes from R. P. Blake's article on gian Theological Literature, in Journal of Theological Studies, vol. XXVI, Octo- 924, pp. 54 ff., supplemented by Peeters' Latin translation of the Georgian *Vitae.* Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes, p. 15: . . . (vir) ille venerabilis ingenti suo e ad ecclesiae nostrae illustrationem et ornamentum universas disciplinas edoctus cuius operosam industriam concelebrant et peregrini et propinqui. Atque transla- n ab eo librorum suavitas, quasi aureae fistulae vox canora in universa terra per- t, non Hiberiae modo, sed etiam Graeciae. Cf. also ibid., p. 33: Dixit porro (illi) r Iohannes 'Fili mi, Hiberorum terra ex gravi librorum inopia laborat, plurimique nobis desunt. Atqui video quo beneficio Deus te muneratus sit; proinde conitere raemium tibi apud Deum multiplices.' Ille ut erat prae omnibus oboediens, eius dato naviter paruit. Itaque (librorum) interpretationi se dedidit, omniumque ani- in admirationem coniecit; nam si priscorum illorum interpretationes eximas, nihil uam tale in lingua nostra prodierat neque opinor denuo proditurum esse.

his studies, and accordingly he resigned his office in 1012. latter period of his life was not as fruitful as the earlier. . He was killed by his runaway mule in a street accident in stantinople, while on a visit there in 1028.[5]

Although Euthymius' contemporary fame was due at in part to his rank, as Professor Blake suggests,[6] yet his e lent knowledge of Greek, and his practice of translating Georgian works previously unknown to his countrymen tinguished him from other translators.[7]

Much attention has been devoted by scholars to the te *Barlaam and Ioasaph* despite the fact that until Peeters' re studies the author's identity was uncertain. A series of coveries, some most dramatic, has thrown light on the u lying sources. The author apparently made use of se extraneous works to embellish the body of his narrative, qu

[5] Blake, loc. cit., p. 59.

[6] Ibid., p. 55f. 'A near relative of the most famous Georgian warrior of h (Tornikios or Č'ordvaneli), whose name was one to conjure with both in Georg at Byzantium, son of a noble of high rank, κτήτωρ and higumen of one of th splendid and wealthy monasteries of the new ascetic ὄμφαλος on Athos, in friend and trusted counsellor of the Greek emperor, it was fitting he should and that people should read his productions with interest.'

[7] Professor Blake reproduces the following list of works by Euthymius from lidze, History of Georgian Literature (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1923.

1. The Bible. Euthymius revised the Gospels, but his version was rapidly di- by that of his successor George. He also translated the Apocalypse and A of Caesarea's commentary on it.
2. Apocrypha. (*a*) The correspondence of Abgar with our Lord; (*b*) the life Virgin attributed to Maximus Confessor; (*c*) Acta Iohannis Apostoli a Pr scripta; (*d*) the Clementines; (*e*) the life of St. Pancratius (Bagrat, Panc Tauromenium; (*f*) Vita Andreae Apostoli.
3. Exegetics. (*a*) The Commentary of John Chrysostom on Matthew; (*b*) th author on John; (*c*) Basil on the Psalms; (*d*) a commentary on the Ap writings.
4. Dogmatics and Polemics. Twenty-four Orations of Gregory Nazianzen an works of Maximus Confessor and John of Damascus.
5. Ascetics. The Dialogues of Gregory the Great; Isaac Syrus; the κλῖμαξ hannes Sinaita; Cassian; the Ἠθικά of Basil the Great.
6. Hagiographica. Sixteen lives of saints.

'Euthymius also paid some attention to liturgical matters, translating a short ary and composing a number of hymns. His work in this field, however, wa overshadowed by that of his successor George. He likewise compiled a short ca collection, made up of the penitential canons of John the Faster and of Basil the together with the canons of the sixth oecumenical council.'

e briefly or at length, allowing others to color his style, and, ly, incorporating at least one, the *Apology* of Aristides, *in* nto his work. As long, however, as it was impossible to fix in a period of four hundred years the time at which the k Barlaam was actually written, to name its author, or to rmine the language from which the tale was derived, it ained equally impossible properly to appreciate these tex- discoveries. Until Peeters all attempts to evaluate their ificance were futile; since Peeters nobody, so far as I know, again gone over the ground. We shall endeavor to re- mine, in the light of Peeters' conclusions, the history of the alled Apology of Aristides, the most important of the ad- titious materials which embellish the narrative of the Greek laam.

n 1889, J. Rendel Harris discovered in a Syriac manuscript he monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai an early istian apology, ascribed to Aristides, an Athenian philoso- r of the second century. He translated this work into Eng- , and showed the proofs of his forthcoming article to his nd, the late J. Armitage Robinson, who made a second as- nding discovery: namely that this Apology of Aristides ned the substance of the speech made in defense of Chris- nity by Nachor, the wise man, in the Greek version of *Bar- n and Ioasaph*.[8] Nachor had been engaged by Abenner, the then king, to impersonate Barlaam, the monk who converted young prince Ioasaph to Christianity. In order to lure the ng prince back to heathenism, the king, his father, plotted have Nachor defend Christianity in a debate so badly that might be sure to lose. God, however, enters into Nachor, l the threats of the young prince sway him somewhat; so tead of delivering a half-hearted oration, he launches forth ldenly into a long, impassioned and beautiful apology for the ristian faith.[9] This apology is taken over from Aristides.

Let us now turn for a moment to the original Georgian from ich Euthymius took his story. Since Peeters' study, this can

Harris, J. R., The Apology of Aristides, vol. I, no. 1, Texts and Studies, Cambridge 3, with J. Armitage Robinson.

Woodward and Mattingly, op. cit., pp. 396–424.

be done with definite knowledge of the proper importanc this version for the later history of the legend.[10] The wise n Na'kor, at exactly the same point as in the Greek, 'openec lips and began to blaspheme the idols, and to praise Christ those who abide by his laws. And his speech flowed on so that even Balavar [11] himself could not compare with him in refutation of the idol-worshippers.' [12] This is all that is sai Na'kor's oration. In this Georgian version, the foundatio Euthymius' Greek version, there is no lengthy apology Christianity, but it exists in his finished work in Greek. Th fore he must have inserted it.[13] The questions now arise, w and where did he do this? After a re-examination of the tory of the Apology itself and of the history of apolog material in general, I hope by a brief investigation into the cl nology of Euthymius' life and works to evolve a likely ans

Until the nineteenth century we knew about the Apolog Aristides only that it had existed and had been lost. The lowing scanty mentions in earlier authors give token of existence indeed, but of little more: [14]

In Eusebius there are two references to Aristides, which

[10] The first published version of the Georgian: N. Marr, 'Mudrost' Balav gruzinskaja versija 'dushepoleznoi istorija' o Varlaame i Ioasaphe (Zapiski točnago otdelenija imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obščestfva, vol 1888, pp. 223–260) consists of extracts only, and these from a faulty manuscript. beare uses this edition as basis for his article, The Barlaam and Josaphat Lege the Ancient Georgian and Armenian Literatures (Folklore, June, 1896, p. 101) first complete Georgian text appeared in 1895 (ed. E. Takai-shvili, Tiflis), and then translated into Russian in 1898 (I. Djavakhov in Zapiski etc., vol. II, 18 pp. 1–48). I have used Professor R. P. Blake's English translation of this Russian in manuscript, but available for reference in the Harvard University Library. page references, however, are to Djavakhov's Russian.

[11] Georgian equivalent of Barlaam.

[12] Djavakhov, op. cit., p. 35.

[13] From a literary point of view the Apology was made to order for Euthymius, needed a long speech, defending Christianity and proving the falsity of other religi written in as elevated a style as his own. Such a work he actually possessed. The A ogy of Aristides, addressed throughout to a king, and containing explicit materi exactly the sort left implicit in his Georgian original, answered his needs to perfect — as is proved by the fact that nobody suspected the neat piece of literary carpe until Harris discovered the Apology itself.

[14] Edgar Hennecke, Die Apologie des Aristides. Recension und Rekonstruk des Textes, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 44 ff.

substantially the same information, one in the Chronicon,[15] the other in the Historia Ecclesiastica.[16] The first reads as ows:

odratus, a pupil of the Apostles, and Aristides of Athens, a philosopher of aith, gave to Hadrian apologetic entreaties at his command. He had, ever, also received from Serennius, that glorious judge, a writing con- ng the Christians, that it was certainly wrong to kill them on the basis mor alone without trial or any accusation. He wrote to Armonius Fun- s (?), proconsul of Asia, that he should not condemn them without formal emnation and trial; and a copy of this edict survives to this day.[17]

other passage adds merely the information that Eusebius sessed a copy of the Apology of Codratus (or Quadratus), that a copy of the Apology of Aristides had survived until day. One scholar has conjectured that Eusebius may never e read Aristides.[18]

erome mentions Aristides three times, — in the Chronicon, he De Viris Illustribus, and in Epistle 70. In each, Quadra- is linked with Aristides; and no new facts are given, except he Epistle, where we are told that 'Justin afterwards imi- ed him,' and that Aristides was *philosophus eloquentissimus ub pristino habitu discipulus Christi*, and his Apology a *icium ingenii eius apud philologos*.[19] Harnack [20] and Harris h agree that these supplementary facts added by Jerome are itorial expansions and colouring of what he found in the es of Eusebius.' [21] Then, too, in the De Viris Illustribus ome has copied Eusebius directly, saying that Aristides' ology was still extant.[22] It is questionable whether this was e in Jerome's time.

Medieval writers, chiefly compilers of martyrologies, taking se grains of falsehood together with the even scantier vestiges

Armen. p. a. 2140, Hadr. 8. Schoene: Euseb. Chron. Can. p. 166. (So cited by necke.)

4, 3, 1. 3. (So cited by Hennecke.)

Translated from Hennecke, op. cit., p. 44.

Adolf Harnack, Die Überlieferung der Griechischen Apologeten des Zweiten hunderts in der Alten Kirche und im Mittelalter, vol. I, hefte 1 and 2 of Texte und ersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig, 1882, p. 102.

Hennecke, op. cit., p. 45.

Op. cit., p. 104.

Harris, op. cit., p. 1.

[22] Harnack, op. cit., p. 106.

of truth, continued assiduously to copy these early reference and so we find that several of them repeat the statement t the Apology of Aristides still existed. Hennecke lists these m tions,[24] one from Orosius, and the others from martyrolog That of Ado, for instance, reports that the Apology *a Athenienses summo genere colitur, et inter antiquorum mo menta clarissimum tenetur, ut peritiores Graeci affirmant.*[25]

Others tell us that Aristides maintained *quod Christus Je solus esset Deus,*[26] — surely a safe guess.

This briefly is all the material available up to the ninetee century, except for a letter dated 1534 from Witzel to Bea Rhenanus, which 'almost implies that the Apology was alre in print in Latin. Is it conceivable that some portion of Apology may have found its way into print before the y 1534, and remained unnoticed in later times?' [27]

In 1878 the monks of the Armenian Lazarist monastery Venice — the Mechitarists — published some old Armen fragments of the Apology,[28] which may be found in Harris i Latin version,[29] and in Harnack, translated into German.[30]

Rendel Harris and Armitage Robinson made the next coveries. The Syriac manuscript discovered by Harris not gives us the complete text of the Apology, but affords furt valuable information. It contains a second introduction well as one like that to the Armenian version), from which H ris is able to prove that Antoninus Pius, not Hadrian, was emperor to whom it was delivered; and which names the aut in full, — Marcianus Aristides. From the text may also deduced several arguments for the early date of the Apolo

[23] For instances of this sort — slavish copyings, and transformations of the true the untrue — see Father H. Delehaye, Les Légendes Hagiographiques, Brussels, landistes, 1905, passim.

[24] Pp. 45–6.

[25] Martyrologium Adonis, ed. Dom. Georgius, Romae 1745, II, p. 514.

[26] See the Collection of notices of Aristides in Bolland, Acta Sanctorum, vol. 6 the month of August, Venice, 1733 (p. 650), under the 31st of August.

[27] Harris, op. cit., p. 19.

[28] Sancti Aristidis Philosophi Atheniensis Sermones, ed. PP. Mechitaristae Cong S. Lazari, Venetiis, 1878.

[29] Op. cit., pp. 37 ff.

[30] Op. cit., pp. 110–112, note. The translation is by von Himpel.

friendly attitude toward the Jews, the fasting of the entire
ch for several days, and other details — all pointing to a
early in the reign of Antoninus Pius 'during an unrecorded
of his to his ancient seat of government in Smyrna.' [31]
onsiderable controversy has arisen as to the precedence of
versions, — whether the original text of Aristides is more
urately represented by the Greek in the Barlaam or by the
iac; and, if the latter be the case, whether the Greek in the
laam is, as Seeberg thinks, a mere abridgment and rework-
of the original Apology.[32] The latest editor of the early
logetes, Edgar Goodspeed, maintains that the problem of
text of the Aristides is virtually insoluble, and that the
iac text is, in his opinion, closer to the original.[33] He also
es the Apology as between the years 138 A.D., when Antoni-
Pius ascended the throne, and 147 A.D., when Marcus
elius, who is not mentioned in the dedication, became as-
iated with him as co-emperor.[34]

To this history of the Apology, based on meagre notices, we
now able to add one thing: St. Euthymius knew the Apol-
of Aristides; he had it before him in some form — possibly
ler some other name — when transforming the Georgian
lavar into the Greek Barlaam; and he it was who inserted
odily into the romance. Where did he find it?

We must first make clear the high probability that Euthy-
us got his material at first hand, using Aristides' Apology
lf rather than some hagiographical version. In the first
ce, excepting our Barlaam, no document which contains even
t of Aristides' Apology has come down to us; so any such
t is hypothetical. Not only hypothetical, however, but also
ficult to imagine, for several reasons, which will become ap-
rent, when we examine the usual hagiographical technique
some of the many other instances of borrowings by a later
thor from the work of an earlier.

Euthymius' text, for instance, offers two other good ex-

[1] Harris, loc. cit., p. 17.

[2] Seeberg, R., Die Apologie des Aristides, untersucht und wiederhergestellt, Erlang-
nd Leipzig, 1893.

[3] Goodspeed, Edgar J., Die Ältesten Apologeten. Göttingen, 1914, p. viii.

[4] Ibid., p. 2.

amples of the usual technique of this sort of borrowing. made use of at least two other earlier works, — the 'life' of Catherine of Alexandria, and the Martyrdom of St. Eustrat from the famous collection compiled in the tenth century Simeon Metaphrastes (the Metaphrast) of the lives of saints; [35] and the so-called Mirror of the Prince, written Agapetos for the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century.[36] thymius' technique in his borrowing from these works is ch acterized by the following tendencies: he uses them free scattering bits, long and short, throughout his narrative wh ever he feels they add to the effect; he never uses a w entire; he reworks sentences to suit himself, dropping wo and phrases, or inserting them with equal freedom. In short borrows here and there, as he pleases; his use is partial a indirect. This is the usual technique of hagiography.[37] Furth examples may be seen in the borrowings from John Malal — in this very life of Saint Catherine, from which Euthym himself later borrowed; [38] in the borrowings from the apolog Theodoret in the martyrdom of Trophimus; [39] and in the h

[35] J. Rendel Harris: A New Christian Apology, Bulletin of the John Rylands brary, VII, 1923, 355–83; The Quest for Quadratus, ibid., VIII, 1924, 384–97; Sources of Barlaam and Ioasaph, ibid., IX, 1925, 119–29; and J. Armitage Robin The Passion of St. Catherine and the Romance of Barlaam and Ioasaph, Journa Theological Studies, XXV, 1924, 246–53; and E. Klostermann and E. Seeberg: Apologie der heiligen Katharina, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrtengesellschaf 2, 1924; and especially Father Hippolyte Delehaye's review of all the above in Anal Bollandiana, vol. 45, 1927, pp. 151–3.

The question of the St. Catherine borrowing is a vexed one, but since Peeters' g article, this too can be cleared up. Suffice it to say here that we can be sure that author of the Greek Barlaam, now known to be Euthymius, used the Metaphrast (w in turn probably contains early apologetic material); that this fact, incidentally, additional proof of the tenth century origin of the Barlaam; and that we can not be all sure — quite the contrary — that he used any earlier apologetic work except that Aristides.

[36] K. Prächter: Der Roman Barlaam und Joasaph in seinem Verhältnis zu Agap Königsspiegel, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, II, 1893, 444–60.

[37] Instanced passim in Delehaye, op. cit.

[38] J. Bidez, Sur diverses citations et notamment sur trois passages de Malalas r trouvés dans un texte Hagiographique, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, vol. 11, 1902, pp. 38 94, where the difficulties involved in determining accurately the provenance of su borrowings are made strikingly clear.

[39] Giovanni Mercati: Un' Apologia Antiellenica sotto forma di Martirio, Studi testi, vol. 5, Rome, 1901, pp. 207–26, especially 218 ff.

ngs from Clement of Alexandria by the author of the ion of St. Philip of Heraclea.[40]

artlingly in contrast to this prevailing technique is that of h Euthymius made use when he borrowed the Apology of tides. He took the whole of it; there is little if any re- ting (this we know from the Syriac); his use of it is direct complete. It is very unlikely, then, that he should have it from a hagiographical text, hypothetical at that, — h also made use of it in this unusual way.

seems safe to assume, therefore, that Euthymius found and a text of the Apology of Aristides itself. By a comparison the Syriac version we know that his text was complete, from a mere glance at the story, that the Apology fitted irably into the plot of the ascetic and edifying piece of iletics which he was creating out of the narrative material ıe Georgian Balavar. We know, too, by the mere existence ıe Armenian and Syriac versions, that the text had been nt in other languages at least well down into the Middle s. The possibility that the Armenian served as Euthymius' ce is very slight. In the first place it is questionable whether new Armenian well; and in the second the Georgians in ral and Euthymius in particular entertained a highly un- ering opinion of Armenians, especially as transmitters of gious texts.[41]

We are now justified in assuming that Euthymius made use ıe original Greek, against the continued existence of which e seems to be no good argument. It is by no means an un- wn phenomenon that manuscripts should have continued to

J. Fuehrer in Mitteilungen des k. d. archaeologischen Instituts, Roem. Abth., vii, p. 159.

This is evinced for example by the following apt quotation from the Vita et s Sancti Georgii Hagioritae, the successor of Euthymius (Peeters, Histoires Mon- ıes Géorgiennes, p. 91f.): . . . attamen terra nostra procul a Graecia distabat, in ea, quasi lolia quaedam intersita erat maligna suboles illa Armeniorum, fallax e versuta: unde non parum detrimenti accepimus. Gens enim nostra innocens et rupta erat: illi autem decorum consilium praetendentes, nos quoque ad errorem re voluerunt; adeoque libri nonnulli ab iis translati nobis fuerunt. Quae cum ita t, gentem nostram divina misericordia respexit novumque Chrysostomum suscita- anctum patrem nostrum Euthymium, qui velut decimus tertius apostolus terram am a loliis praedictis penitus depurgavit, translatis compluribus libris sanctis. . . .

exist in the East for centuries after they were written, and t
subsequent writers should have used them freely without t
fying to their existence. We may adduce, as evidence, the n
uscript which has been the sole source of the texts of virtu
all the early Apologetes, Codex Parisinus 451, written in
year 914 for Arethas, bishop of Caesarea,[42] a nine-tenth cent
bibliophile, by Baanes (Βαανης), a professional scribe. W
should not the story of the hypothetical manuscript which c
tained Aristides, and which Euthymius presumably used, h
been similar? [43]

On the same page in Par. 451 on which is given a statemer
the price of the manuscript, there appear in a hand (certa
not earlier than the twelfth century) the following word
very bad Greek, which I translate: 'this book belongs to
monk Meletius, who dragged out his wretched existence
cording to his deserts.' [44] Whoever this Meletius may h
been,[45] the corrections by his hand prove that the manusc
survived in the east, long after 1028 (the year of Euthym
death).

A similar and even more suggestive manuscript history is t
of the Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. Our knowledge of this
was until the nineteenth century confined to scanty notice
Eusebius, Athanasius, and others in the early church. In 18
Bryennios, Archbishop of Leres, discovered it complete, i
manuscript of the eleventh century in the Jerusalemite m

[42] From his library come also a manuscript of Euclid (Bodleian, D'Orville MSS.
Harnack, op. cit., p. 40; and the great Codex Clarkianus, the important m
script of Plato, removed (a kind word!) from Mount Patmos in the early ninete
century.

[43] Some of the marginalia and corrections in Par. 451 are in the same ink, and a l
contemporary with the original; and two of them are preceded by the word Ἀ
From this we may infer that Arethas himself, in accordance with his custom, made s
of the corrections.

The text of 451 includes a gap which at first glance we should like to think had
tained the Apology of Aristides. Harnack, however, shows that the gap was al
certainly filled by the Oratio ad Graecos of Tatian.

[44] Harnack, p. 28.

[45] Harnack suggests that he may have been the Meletius who was also the scrib
a Codex of the Evangelists, dated 1275 (Mosquensis 277), written in the monaster
St. George at Beroea; or still another Meletius who wrote the Athos Synaxary of
year 1303.

ry at Constantinople.[46] This manuscript too, then, con- ed to exist in the east long after the period in which we are rested.[47] It is not improbable, then, that Euthymius had ss to a text of Aristides; in fact the evidence of his almost ain use of such a text when added to the evidence adduced he similarity of these two other manuscript traditions make the highest degree probable; and the history of the Διδαχή, east, suggests that perhaps in some eastern library there still exist a manuscript containing, possibly under another ie, the Apology of Aristides.

et us now return to the Barlaam, and attempt to arrive at date of its composition.

n Athos, in the well-preserved library of the lavra of Iviron, e is no manuscript extant of either the Georgian or the ek version.[48] This fact would at once seem to indicate some e of composition other than the holy mountain. Con- uously absent from the Athos collection are several of hymius' other known works; for the most part these are -Athonite achievements. Notable among these absent works version in Georgian of the Apocalypse of St. John the ostle.[49] There actually does exist at Tiflis[50] a manuscript of , naming Euthymius as its author, and dated 978 on Mount mpus, at the monastery of Kranion. This work, at least, nitely, then, belongs to the pre-Athonite period. It is im- tant, too, in another respect, and we shall return to it rtly.

Published by Harnack, Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel, vol. II, hefte 1 und 2 of e und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig, 1886. Harnack, pp. 5–12.

See R. P. Blake, Catalogue des Manuscrits Géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la re d'Iviron au Mont Athos — extrait de la Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, 3e série, T. (XXVIII), Nos. 3 et 4 (1931–2), pp. 289–361, which we shall henceforth call 1; and 3e série, T. IX (xxix), Nos. 1 et 2 (1933–4), pp. 114–159, which we shall eforth call part 2.

Blake, op. cit., part 1, p. 7, 'Une série des travaux de S. Euthyme ne s'y trouve pas, Apocalpyse de S. Jean. . . .'

Ms. 1346 of Georgian Society of History and Ethnography, Tiflis, a photograph of ch exists in the J. P. Morgan Collection at Harvard University, and a description of ch may be found in Žordania: Sio-Mgümis Monasteri, Tiflis, 1896 (in Georgian). r the above note I am indebted to Professor R. P. Blake.)

Number 32 in Professor Blake's catalogue[51] is the manusc of Euthymius' translation of St. Basil the Great, written Athos by the scribe Sabay in the year 981. This is the earl of the Athos manuscripts which bear Euthymius' name, thus places him on Athos in 981. We can now say that he c to Athos from Olympus sometime between 978 and 981.

John, the father of Euthymius, made a list of the work his son, in a document called his testament.[52] This appear an epilogue to the Georgian MS. on Athos of the Comment of Chrysostom on Matthew[53] and continues to reappear, w additions, — once in St. George's life of St. John and Euthymius, which has already been so useful,[54] and once i manuscript of Gelathi, dated 1047.[55]

An examination of these lists will supply us with the res our necessary data. Although at first the order of the wo seems approximately chronological, we are struck by the f that the important Apocalypse already mentioned, which know to have been done on Olympus in 978, and so to be a v early achievement, appears seventeenth on the list.[56] H then, John has gone astray. We infer from this that John not clear as to the nature and order of his son's activities at h period. This inference is strengthened by the fact that J omits the Gospels, also a product of Euthymius' pre-Athos period, which still exist at Tiflis.[57]

[51] Part 2, p. 110 ff.

[52] 'St. Jean l'Hagiorite . . . a écrit ou dicté une notice bio-bibliographique, des à authentiquer un des manuscrits qu'il fit calligraphier pour la laure des Ibères (inf. next sentence in text). Il y raconte comment, affligé de la détresse intellectuell religieuse dont souffrait la nation géorgienne, faute des livres les plus indispensable resolut de préparer son fils Euthyme à combler cette lacune en traduisant du gre géorgien les Saintes Écritures . . . et d'autres ouvrages utiles à l'instruction et à l' fication de ses compatriotes. Suit un catalogue des métaphrases qu'Euthyme a déjà faites. . . . Ce colophon, que l'on a appelé le 'testament' de S. Jean, a été souv réproduit dans les manuscrits du XI^e siècle. . . .' Paul Peeters — La Première T duction de Barlaam et Joasaph et son original Grec, Analecta Bollandiana, vol. 1931, pp. 284–5.

[53] Blake, no. 10, part 1, p. 51 ff.; testament p. 54–5

[54] Peeters, Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes, p. 34–5.

[55] Peeters, La Première Traduction, etc., p. 285, where he expresses his indebtedn for this notice to Professor Blake.

[56] Peeters, Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes, p. 35. Blake, op. cit., part 1, p.

[57] Žordania, Opisanie Rukopisei Tiflisskago Tserkovnago Museja, Ms. 484, fu described.

e Balavar does not appear on any of these lists of Euthy- works, except in that of Gelathi. Here it is very evidently terpolation by the copyist,[58] who, knowing better than inserted the title for the sake of completeness. We may *e silentio* that Euthymius wrote the Barlaam during the l least known to John, — in those years when he was on pus before 981.

s also conceivable that the Barlaam is a product of Euthy- later years, — after John's death in 998, a period of years, — when, of course, John could not have known of e must remember, however, that during Euthymius' later his administrative duties kept him very busy; very few achievements belong to this period. It is also more likely the Apology of Aristides was available on Olympus, an ıd long established ὄμφαλος with an excellent collection of , than on Athos, a comparatively new foundation, to ı books constantly were being imported in the effort to up a library.[59]

should like to propose, then, as a reasonable hypothesis about the year 978 Saint Euthymius, in his retreat on ıt Olympus in Bithynia, was engaged in transforming a r primitively told Georgian tale into one of the richest, sophisticated, and most dramatic of the medieval Chris- omances, and had before him as he worked a copy of the ogy of Aristides, a powerful and persuasive work of the d century, thought until recent years to have dropped out ght five centuries before Euthymius' time. This he in- l bodily into his narrative. Thus we are able to set up at ossroads of two important literary documents a milestone e history of each. This may conceivably serve as a point parture for further study of a hitherto enigmatic early tian apology.

eeters, La Première Traduction, etc., p. 285.
eeters, Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes, p. 25–6 and passim.

THE 'PLAIN MEANING' OF ISAIAH 42.1-4[1]

RALPH MARCUS

Jewish Institute of Religion; and Columbia University

expression 'plain meaning' is here used in the sense of w *peshat*, since this paper is not primarily a study in the criticism of Deutero-Isaiah. But I may perhaps be al- to make three brief preliminary statements of belief con- g the relation of the passage under discussion to the rest book. First: that the conception of the Servant found in

erature consulted:

K., Das Buch Jesaja. Kap. 40–66 (Kautzsch, Heilige Schriften d.A.T.). 4th 1922.
C., Der israelitische Prophetismus. 6th ed. 1906 (1st ed. 1894).
G., Linguistic and Textual Problems: Isaiah xl-lxvi. JTS, xxxvi, 1935, pp. –406.
B., Das Buch Jesaja (Göttinger Handkom. z.A.T.). 3rd ed. 1914.
A., Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel. Vol. 4. 1912.
t, O., Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja (Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte Altertums, H. 2). 1933.
an, F., Das Buch Isaias (Exeg. Handbuch ed. Nikel-Schulz). Vol. 2. 1926.
J., Isaias 40–55 (Alttest. Abhandlungen ed. Nikel, B. vi, H. 4/5). 1916.
echt, F., Der Knecht Jahwes des Deuterojesajas. 1902.
ook, M., Studies in the Book of Isaiah. 1910.
ann, H., Der Messias (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur d. Alten und uen Testaments, N.F. 26, H.43). 1929.
L., Deuterojesaja. 1923.
E., Das Buch Jesaja. 1926.
., Deutero-Isaiah. 1925.
K., Das Buch Jesaja (Benzingers Kurzer Handkom. z.A.T.). 1900.
kel, S., Der Knecht Jahwes. 1921.
F., Analekten z. Textkritik d.A.T. N. F. 1922.
us, F., Bemerkungen zu d. Geschichte vom Knecht Jahwes. ZAW, xxxvi, 1916, 8 ff.
, W., Die Ebed-Jahwe Lieder als geschichtliche Wirklichkeit. ZAW, xlvi, 1928, 156–166.
E., Tritojesaja, Deuterojesaja u. d. Gottesknechtsproblem. NKZ, xli, 1930, 145 ff.
, J., The Book of the Prophet Isaiah. Chapters xl-lxvi (Cambridge Bible). 6.
J., A New Approach to the Ebed-Yahweh Problem. Exp. Times xlv, 1933/4, 168–172.

42.1–4 is closer to that found in the whole of Deutero-Isa than it is to that in the last of the so-called Servant-po 52.13–53.12. Second: that the first Servant-poem describe people of Israel, as do chs. 40–55 generally,[3] and not an vidual. Third: that the suffering of the Servant has beer duly emphasized from the early Christian period onv largely because the sublime portrayal of humility and suff in ch. 53, which is strikingly different from most of the h has obscured the predominantly consolatory and triump aspects of the Servant as God's instrument.[4] With this i duction I should like to comment on the Masoretic text.

Vs. 1

הֵן עַבְדִּי אֶתְמָךְ־בּוֹ	בְּחִירִי רָצְתָה נַפְשִׁי
נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו	מִשְׁפָּט לַגּוֹיִם יוֹצִיא

No interpreter, ancient or modern, has questioned the rea of any of these words, except that the LXX has supplie name Jacob before עבדי, and Israel before בחירי, while the Tar explains that עבדי is the Messiah. As for משפט, it is diffic decide its precise shade of meaning. Quite possibly the pr himself would have been uncertain. At least I think he w have been puzzled by the modern distinction between 'law' 'religion,' and might have been somewhat perplexed by discussions of modern exegetes as to the exact differe meaning between משפט and תורה in vs. 4. If he were a whether משפט here means 'justice' or 'just governmen rather something like 'salvation,' I think he might reply

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Smith, G. A., The Book of Isaiah. II. 1927.
Torrey, C., The Second Isaiah. 1928.
Volz, P., Jesaja II. 1932.
Zillessen, A., Review of Giesebrecht (see above) in Theol. Literaturzeitung, Sp. 131–134.

[2] The linguistic parallels between 42.1–4 and chs. 40–55 are conveniently marized by Fischer, p. 138.

[3] Torrey and Eissfeldt have admirably presented the case for the shifting a of the Servant as a collective term.

[4] For some time I have believed what Smart has recently well expressed, p 'The nations are to be brought into subjection to Israel not by any meek and s ing Servant, but by Yahweh's strong right arm.'

vely, that 'justice' means the suppression of immorality
dolatry, and so salvation for mankind. Vs. 1 says that
supports his Servant, chooses him for a special task, and
res him; the special task is to introduce justice among the
ns.

Vs. 2

לֹא יִצְעַק וְלֹא יִשָּׂא וְלֹא־יַשְׁמִיעַ בַּחוּץ קוֹלוֹ

e scholars have thought it necessary to emend ישא to ישאג,
ly because the Targum has יכלי. But, as Torrey points out,
ay render ישא as well as ישאג; obviously קולו is to be under-
l after ישא, as Rashi and Kimhi long ago supposed. It may
lded that the ancient versions also read ישא, although the
ate understood פנים and not קולו after it. The tenses of the
s are present rather than future, I think, and describe the
ent characteristics of the Servant who is chosen by God for
eat task. Thus, continuing vs. 1, this verse says that the
ant is not one who cries out or raises his voice or causes his
e to be heard at a great distance.

at what kind of cry is it that the Servant does not make?
a loud shout, or a cry of anger or rebuke, or a cry of jubila-
or a cry of alarm and distress, a cry for help? Here is where
nk the commentators have failed to inquire closely into the
otation. The phrase נשא קול occurs 17 times in the O. T. In
stances it is followed by בכה 'to weep,' and obviously con-
s raising the voice in sadness or distress. In one instance,
9.7, it is more neutral, though here the context might indi-
that it means raising the voice in appeal for a hearing. In
her instance, Ps. 93.3, it means the roaring of the waters.
he other two instances, Is. 24.14 and 52.8, it is followed by
o exult,' and obviously means shouting joyfully. The fact
in 75% of the instances נשא קול connotes raising the voice
istress creates at least a presumption that when it is con-
ed with צעק, as here, it has a similar meaning. Let us now
mine the uses of צעק. This verb (in the *qal*) and the noun
occur in 61 verses of the O. T. I have carefully studied all
e passages and have discovered that in 59 of these, or in

97%, the context makes it *quite clear* that the meaning of root צעק is 'to cry out in distress' or 'to cry for help or for r from oppression.' The passages are here listed in order that reader may satisfy himself from inspection of the texts th do not exaggerate when I say that the context makes it *clear* that צעק has the meaning given above.

Gen. 4.10; 18.21; 27.34; 41.55.
Ex. 3.7; 3.9; 5.8; 5.15; 8.8; 11.6; 12.30; 14.10; 14.15; 15.25; 17.4; 22.22; 22.26.
Num. 11.2; 12.13; 20.16.
Deut. 22.24; 22.27; 26.7.
Jos. 24.7.
Jud. 4.3; 10.12.
I Sam. 4.14; 9.16.
2 K. 4.1; 4.40; 6.5; 6.26; 8.3; 8.5.
Is. 5.7; 19.20; 33.7; 46.7; 65.14.
Jer. 22.20; 25.36; 48.3; 48.5; 49.3; 49.21.
Zeph. 1.10.
Ps. 9.13; 34.18; 77.2; 88.2; 107.6; 107.28.
Job 19.7; 27.9; 34.28; 35.12.
Lam. 2.18.
Neh. 5.1; 9.27.
2 Chr. 13.14.

The reader is asked to note particularly that *in the only passages* in Is. 40–66 where צעק occurs it means 'to cry for hel in distress'; the two passages are 46.7 צעק אליו ולא יענה מצרתו לא and 65.14 הנה עבדי ירנו מטוב לב ואתם תצעקו מכאב לב ויושיענו. only two passages in the entire O. T. where the root צעק d not clearly have the meaning here postulated are Gen. 19 and 1 K. 20.39. In the former passage we read that the ang are sent to destroy Sodom כי־גדלה צעקתם את־פני יהוה. Here ה apparently means an appeal made to Heaven against wickedness of the Sodomites. In the second passage we re that an anonymous prophet disguises himself and waits Ahab to pass on the road, והוא צעק אל־המלך. Here צעק does not course, obviously mean 'to cry out in distress,' but it d connote appealing to the king for a decision.

n the basis of this evidence I think we may safely assume צעק in Is. 42.2, as in all but two of the other 61 occurrences is root in the O. T., means 'to cry for help or in distress.' at is true, the verse says that the Servant does not cry out elp or in distress.

s. 3. Since 3ab is, in my opinion, the crux of this passage, I leave it for the moment, and go on to the end of the verse.

לֶאֱמֶת יוֹצִיא מִשְׁפָּט

has given much trouble to commentators. אמת appears other times in Is. 40 ff. with at least two rather different nings. In four passages, two of them personifications, it be rendered as 'truth' or 'faithfulness.' The fifth passage, ונתתי פעלתם באמת, means, I think, 'I will cause their acts to effect.' Possibly לאמת here has a similar meaning, 'He will oduce justice effectively.' Or, less probably, לאמת may be asseveration, 'of a certainty he will introduce justice.' here I think we should do better to emend the Masoretic alization, even though it is supported by all the ancient ions, and read לֶאֱמוּנָה. This suggestion has been made by mann, Cheyne, Giesebrecht and Perles, each being indedent of the others apparently. The emendation seems fully ified by the parallelism between 3c and 1d. Such iteration distinction from double-meaning, on which see below) is mon in the book, whether in identical or slightly varied ns.

s. 4

לֹא יִכְהֶה וְלֹא יָרוּץ

עַד־יָשִׂים בָּאָרֶץ מִשְׁפָּט וּלְתוֹרָתוֹ אִיִּים יְיַחֵלוּ

e it seems to me, as to most commentators, that we have ther iteration, and that יכהה and ירוץ are used in exactly the ie senses as כהה and רצוץ above; but if ירוץ is parallel to , it must be passive; we should therefore vocalize it as יָרוּץ, ch is the form we find in one important Hebrew Ms.; this ding is also supported by the LXX and Targum, and as- ied by Rashi and Kimhi.

Now if we regard יכהה and ירוץ as intransitive and passive
spectively and if we assume that they have the same meani
here as כהה and רצוץ in vs. 3, we seem to have a strange inc
gruity with vs. 3 as the latter is usually interpreted. If v
says that the Servant will not break a crushed reed or extingu
a dimly burning wick, why should vs. 4 say that *he* will not
crushed or burn dimly? There are, of course, other contra
tions or sudden changes of rôle in the book, for example in 41.1
where the 'worm' Jacob becomes a 'threshing-sled.' But
the latter passage we have the bold parodox of rhetorical fan
while the present passage is, I think we may safely say, a sim
organic statement, of which the last phrase echoes the fi
We should hardly expect a contradiction or paradox of this ki

How then shall we remove this particular difficulty? Pr
torius conveniently assumes that 4a is a gloss. 'Am wahrsch
lichsten ist mir, dass der Glossator die Deutung hat abwe
wollen der Gottesknecht sei das geknickte Rohr, der ver
chende Docht. Deshalb schrieb er, "Er wird nicht verlösch
und wird nicht geknickt werden."' But if the supposed glo
tor was afraid that readers might take the Servant to be
crushed reed, why in the world should his gloss say the
same thing that the allegedly misleading verse says? V
says that the crushed reed will not be broken, and that is w
the 'gloss' says. Incidentally Praetorius also considers
לאמת יוציא משפט a gloss to 1d משפט לגוים יציא. Can anyone und
stand why the latter phrase needs a gloss?

We must now consider Torrey's suggestion that כהה and
have double meanings in this passage. He writes, p. 326, 'It
true that we have here a play on words (after the favorite ma
ner of this writer) but it is not the one which tradition h
established. On the contrary the verb כהה in verse 4 has a ve
different meaning from the כהה of verse 3; it is the verb foun
(in *piel*) in I Sam. 3.13, "to rebuke, chide," allied with כאה an
Syriac כאא. It was undoubtedly chosen because of the wor
play (see the many similar examples, chapter xi). . . . As fo
the word ירוץ it also has a meaning somewhat different fro
that which appears in the preceding verse. It is the same ver
רצץ, with the signification which it usually has when use

cally, viz. "oppress, deal harshly," as in 58.6; 1 Sam. 12.3 f.; 14.1; Deut. 28.33. It is quite possible that the unusual (?) unciation יָרוּץ was chosen here for the sake of the paro-asia with רָצוּץ; see however אָרֵץ (same verb) in Ps. 18.30, e scholars may well think twice before emending.'

t us look into the matter of word-play in Deutero-Isaiah. er, following Torrey, has listed a number of passages where, laims, a word is repeated with altered meaning. Besides nd רצץ here he notes:

50.4	למודים	59.18	גמל
52.14 f.	רבים	60.5, 16	חיל
54.7	רגע	60.16 ff.	שׁד and שׁוד
54.13	בניך	63.3, 6	נאל; נצח
57.6	חלק	65.15 ff.	שבועה and נשבע
58.10	נפש	66.20	מנחה

examination most of these supposedly altered meanings to evaporate. At least I can find no such alteration in ל, רבים (cf. Cornill in ZAW xxxvi, 1916, p. 243), רגע, גמול, בניך. Each of these seems to be a case of repetition ie identical meaning or of paronomasia. As for נפש, the text robably corrupt; the ancient versions have לחמך for נפשך, so the parallel in 58.7. שבועה and נשבע are obscure. There however, it must be admitted, about five passages where an alteration of meaning seems to appear. But all of them marked by quite a different form of rhetoric from that in our passage; these passages have the rhetoric of irony ivective, or else, as in one case, the grammatical construc- makes the degree of comparison and contrast quite plain. בחלקי־נחל occurs in 57.6 where we have a scathing attack wicked cult-practices; note the rhetorical question העל אלה. The play on שׁד and שׁוד occurs in a passage, 60.17, ch describes a miraculous reversal of fortune. So also nd נצח are in a rhetorically exaggerated context, where, in-ntally, the parallel נקם may perhaps justify the emendation גאולי to גמולי. As for מנחה in 66.20, the slight distinction be-en 'gift' and 'meal-offering' is pointed by the use of the

particle כאשר, so that the reader is made aware of any disti
tion intended.

Our passage, on the other hand, is marked by emphatic re
tition; it seems natural, therefore, to give כהה and רצץ in ve
the same sense which they bear in vs. 3. It also seems natu
to pause after לאמת יוציא משפט, and to take לא יכהה ולא ירוץ as
principal verbs before the clause עד־ישים. Torrey renders '
will bring forth justice faithfully, chiding not, nor deal
harshly, till he have established judgment in the earth, et
Thus he makes the negatived verbs merely circumstantial.
do not think that this interpretation so fully conforms to wh
we know of the style of Is. 40–66 as does the usual interpre
tion which takes the verse to mean that the Servant will
tire or be crushed *until* he shall have brought justice to t
world. In making this statement about Deutero-Isaiah's st
I am not merely giving my subjective impression, but base it
the following bit of evidence. There are *only two other pass*
in Is. 40–66 where עד is used, as in the present passage, to int
duce a result clause. In *both these cases* it follows negati
syntactically independent verbs. The passages are 62.1
לא אשקוט עד־יצא כנגה צדקה . . . אהשה and 62.7 התנו דמי לו עד־יכונן
ועד־ישים. On the basis of this evidence I believe we are justi
in saying that the verse emphasizes the fact that no obst
shall be allowed to stand in the path of the Servant as he carr
out his great task. The final phrase ולתורתו איים ייחלו seems
give an additional reason why the Servant shall not be allow
to falter or be discouraged from realizing his purpose, which
that the nations are waiting for his teaching. They need it.

We must now return to the verse which seems to me to be t
heart of this encouraging message or exhortation to the Servan

Vs. 3 a b

קָנֶה רָצוּץ לֹא יִשְׁבּוֹר וּפִשְׁתָּה כֵהָה לֹא יְכַבֶּנָּה

First, a brief remark about the individual words. קנה ca
hardly be anything but 'reed,' a proverbial symbol of somethin
fragile. Ehrlich's preference for the meaning 'arm of a lamp
stand' because of the parallelism with פשתה is an example o

wrong kind of imagination. Not more acceptable is his titution of יכבה for יכהה in vs. 4 on the ground that its mean- is restricted to weakness of the eyes. Its most common ning is 'grow dim' whether its subject be 'eye' or anything gives light. Neither the ancient versions nor the medieval mentators nor any other modern scholar have, to my wledge, understood anything but a broken reed or a dimly ing wick to be referred to.

he syntax of the verse, however, is a problem that deserves ntion. The ancient versions (except the Targum which phrases and expands) and the vast majority of medieval modern commentators take the Servant to be the subject ie verbs ישבור and יכבנה, while they regard קנה and פשתה as the cts. Of the twenty-five commentaries or articles published le 1900, which I have consulted, all but five accept this con- iction. If we do so, what individuals are we to understand e spared in this considerate manner? Is it the foreign ions or the pious Israelites or both who are crushed reeds dimly burning wicks? Skinner suggests that 'the metaphor litotes . . . and the meaning is that instead of crushing the ring elements of goodness he will strengthen and purify n.' But why should the Servant need God's support and iration if he has to deal with such helpless creatures? To ure, we are told in vs. 4 that the nations are waiting hope- for the Servant's teaching, but there is nothing to indicate the Servant has to restrain himself in consideration of r weakness. On the contrary, as I have tried to show above, Servant himself is the one who is facing difficulties and needs l's help to overcome them. Unless we accept Praetorius' gestion that vs. 4 is a gloss, or Torrey's that כהה and רצץ e different meanings in the two verses, I think it is reason- to assume that the Servant himself is the קנה רפוץ and the פשתה. Before we attempt to render the Masoretic text let consider the propriety of emending it. Glazebrook and ssmann propose to change ישבור to אשבור and יכבנה to אכבנה; t is, it is God who says 'I will not break . . . I will not ex- guish.' But this change seems objectionable on stylistic unds. Such an explicit assurance as לא אכבנה . . . לא אשבור

after the phrase נתתי רוחי עליו and before the phrase יכהה
ולא ירוץ seems, to me at least, rather forced and uncharacteris
I think we should do better to retain the Masoretic vocalizat
of the verbs and take them as impersonal uses of the 3rd per
singular; we might, of course, resort to another emendat
and make them passives, in which case the meaning would
about the same. But I think the Masoretic vocalization
preferable on stylistic grounds. Assuming, then, that
Servant is meant by the crushed reed that shall not be brok
and the dimly burning wick that shall not be extinguish
have we an original description of the Servant or a proverb
expression, a *mashal*? The latter is suggested by Sellin a
Praetorius, although Sellin does not give the connotations
such an assumed proverb. He renders the verse, 'Ein gekn
tes Rohr zerbricht man nicht, und einen glimmenden Do
löscht man nicht aus'; on this he comments, 'In Wirklichk
ist also v. 3 ein verbreiteter Maschal mit dem subjekt "mar
der in v. 4 auf den Ebed angewendet wird.' Praetorius earli
in the paper quoted above, compared the German prov
'offene Türen einrennen' (incidentally we have an English pr
erb even closer to the assumed *mashal* — 'to knock dow
man of straw'), and he explains, 'das heisst, sich den Ansch
grosser Tätigkeit geben, während im Grunde alles ganz lei
geht.' This, of course, fits in generally with the description
the Servant's quiet effectiveness in vs. 2. But in view of
emphatic and personal tone of the whole passage and the ass
ance in vs. 4 that the Servant will carry out his task with
weakening, it seems to me that vs. 3 is rather a direct a
original description of the Servant than a proverb which t
reader is left to apply to him.

This leaves us the interpretation which Cornill suggested
long ago as 1894 and which Giesebrecht more fully develop
some time before 1902 when he published the work in which
cites it only to repudiate it, and which I arrived at indepen
ently on the basis of evidence not cited by these two scholar
Cornill's rendering of the verse seems to me just about righ
'Wenn auch ein geknicktes Rohr, nicht soll er zerbrechen, wen
auch ein verglimmender Docht, nicht soll er erlöschen.' Gies

ht comments, 'Hiernach würde v. 3 an die vorher geschil-
en Hemmungen welche die freie Kraftentfaltung des
chtes beschränken die an v. 1 geknüpfte Verheissung fügen,
er obgleich ein geknicktes Rohr, ein glimmender Docht,
loch nicht erliegen sollte.'

y own free translation of the verse is, 'A crushed reed he
be, but one that no one shall break; a dimly burning wick
nay be, but no one shall quench its light; in spite of every-
g he shall bring justice to the nations.'

he contents of Is. 42.1–4 I should summarize as follows.
gives his Servant assurance of support, and inspires him
is task of bringing justice to mankind. The Servant pos-
es no external sign of power, but works with quiet effective-
and without appealing for help. He may appear to be a
k instrument, but nevertheless nothing shall be allowed
prevent him from bringing justice to the nations. He will
falter nor be deterred from bringing justice to the nations,
ecially because they need his teaching.

his, it seems to me, is the *peshat* or 'plain meaning' of the
sage. What its deeper implications are it belongs to an
nded commentary on Deutero-Isaiah or a work on biblical
gion to discuss.

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